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NAVAL HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
INCLUDING THE
HISTORY AND LIVES
OF
THE BRITISH ADMIRALS.

BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

WITH

A CONTINUATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1812;

COMPRISING

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE ADMIRALS OMITTED BY DR. CAMPBELL:
LIKEWISE OF NAVAL CAPTAINS AND OTHER OFFICERS WHO HAVE
DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THEIR COUNTRY'S CAUSE.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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NAVAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

INCLUDING

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS, CAPTAINS, &c.

CHAP. XVIII

CONTINUED.

The Naval History of Great Britain, under the Reign of King William III. from the Revolution to the Peace of Ryswick.

WE are now arrived at that period of our history, which naturally leads us to take a view of what passed in the West Indies, from the beginning of the war to the close of the next year 1697; and, as our reasons for treating this subject at once have been already given at large, we shall enter upon it here without farther introduction. The revolution took place in our colonies as easily as it had done at home, on a principle which was very emphatically expressed by one of our governors, who, when he was summoned by a man of war to submit to King William and Queen Mary, very sensibly answered, that if they were king and queen at Whitehall, they should be so there, and proclaimed them immediately.

By this means, the plantations were secured against every thing except foreign invasions, and to these they were not long exposed, since, towards the end of the year 1689, orders were given for fitting out a squadron for Barbadoes and the Leeward islands, under the command of Captain Lawrence Wright, who was directed to sail as soon as possible, and had very ample instructions given him.* It fell out, however, in consequence of abundance of unlucky accidents, that he did not leave Plymouth till the eighth of March following. Arriving in Carlisle Bay on the eleventh of May, 1690, he found all things there in a better posture than he expected; and towards the latter end of the month, when his men were pretty well recovered of the scurvy, he sailed for the Leeward islands, in order to assist General Codrington, who was preparing for an expedition against St. Christopher's where we had been joint possessors with the French, who had now driven us out, and had made themselves masters of the whole island.

The commodore sailed on the third of June to Montserrat, where he was joined by the general from Antigua, with such a force as the English colonies could supply. Thence they proceeded together to Nevis, in consequence of a resolution taken in a council of war, to make a descent as soon as possible upon the island of St. Christopher. On the twenty-third, Sir Timothy Thornhill landed, with five hundred men, to the east of Frigot's bay, and, having twice engaged and routed the French, marched on to Basse-Terre, and in the way beat the French forces a third time. This broke the spirits of the enemy to such a degree, that they gave General Codrington no disturbance, when he landed with three thousand men, and marched the same way. The fleet at the same time sailed into the road, in order to batter the town and forts, while the general attacked it by land. The French, however, saved them the trouble, by abandoning the place, and setting it on fire. In about three weeks time the whole island was reduced; and, the season of hurricanes coming on, the fleet returned triumphantly to Barbadoes, and the design of making farther conquests, was postponed to another year.*

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* This squadron consisted of ten sail of men of war; viz. one third rate, seven fourth, and two fifth rates, two fire-ships, and a ketch. The duke of Bolton's regiment of foot embarked on board it, and the commodore was instructed to use his best endeavours to secure the English colonies, assist the Dutch, and distress the French, in all which he was directed to take the advice of councils of war, of General Codrington, the governor and council of Barbadoes, &c.

In the month of January, 1691, the commodore received fresh orders from England, directing him to stay some time longer in America; upon which he took up six of the largest merchant-ships, turned them into men of war, and on the twelfth of February sailed for the Leeward Islands. There an unhappy difference sprung up between him and General Codrington, which ruined the expedition; for though in the month of April they landed in Marigallante, and in a great measure ruined that settlement, from whence they proceeded to Guadaloupe, and remained there some time; yet, on the news of a French squadron's being in the neighbourhood, they hastily re-embarked their forces, and resolved to abandon the enterprise, at the same time almost that the French had determined to abandon the island. Soon after this, Commodore Wright returned to Barbadoes, where finding his conduct universally disliked, he, under pretence of sickness, quitted the command, having first separated the squadron to different services; and soon after returned, with very little reputation, to England.

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* This was in some measure owing to the sickness of the troops, and to several ships being disabled, but was chiefly occasioned by the commodore's receiving orders to return to England, which, as we shall see, were very quickly countermanded. See a true and faithful Relation of the proceedings of the forces of their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, in their expedition against the French, in the Caribbee islands in the West Indies, under the conduct of his Excellency Christopher Codrington, Captain-General and Commander-in chief of the said forces in the years 1689, and 1690, written by Thomas Spencer, junior, Secretary to the Honourable Sir Timothy Thornhill, Baronet, London, 1691, 4to.

The same year, some other expeditions were undertaken against the French in this part of the world. The colony of New England found itself so liable to disturbance from the settlement which the French had at Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, that it was resolved to attack it, and that too as soon as the war broke out. With this view, a considerable fleet, with seven hundred land forces on board, was fitted out under the command of Sir William Phips, who sailed from Nantascot on the twenty-eighth of April, 1690 and by the middle of the next month, he completed his design, and reduced Port Royal and the adjacent settlements under the dominion of the English. His quick success in this, induced the colony to undertake an enterprise of greater importance, which was no less than the reduction of Quebec, the capital of the French settlements in Canada. This was certainly a well laid scheme, and if it had been executed with equal prudence, must have turned very highly to the advantage of the English, as experience hath convinced us since. The colony shewed on this occasion, a very extraordinary measure of public spirit, by raising no less than two thousand men, whom they embarked on board their fleet of thirty-two sail great and small, without demanding or expecting any assistance from hence.

With this force Sir William Phips sailed from Hull, near Boston, on the ninth of August, and arrived about the beginning of September, before the river of Canada, but was there unluckily, by contrary winds, detained in such a manner, as that it was three weeks before they arrived at Quebec. This gave the Count De Frontenac, governor there for the French, an opportunity to prepare for his defence, and of drawing all the strength of the colony to Quebec, which Sir William Phips expected would have been divided, by an army marching over land

and attacking Mount Royal fort, at the same time that he fell upon the city. This army was to consist of a thousand men from New York, Connecticut, and Plymouth colonies, and fifteen hundred Iroquois. The English marched as far as the great lake of Canada, but not finding canoes ready for them to pass it, and the Indians not joining them according to their agreement, they returned; by which unfortunate miscarriage, Count Frontenac had no need to make any detachments for the security of Mount-Royal.

Sir William summoned the count to surrender the city, but received a very insolent and haughty answer. On the eighth of October, the English landed, under Lieutenant-General Whalley, to the number of fourteen hundred, for to that number they were now reduced by the Small Pox, and other diseases. In the mean while Sir William brought his ships to bear on the west end of the city, waiting till General Whalley should begin the assault. But this gentleman hearing that Count De Frontenac had four thousand men within, and was provided to make a vigorous defence, notwithstanding the entreaties of the English soldiers to the contrary, resolved immediately to re-embark. Sir William expecting the signal for their attacking the town on the east side, sent a messenger on shore to know the reason of their not giving the assault; which when he understood, and saw many of the men were almost frozen to death, to which we may add, the colonel and others ill of the small pox, he ordered them on board to refresh themselves: and calling a council of war, it was therein resolved to return. Thus ended this fruitless expedition, which cost the colony of New England so large a sum of money, and as to which mighty expectations had been raised.

Several accounts have been given of this unlucky expedition; but most of them written, either with a view to load the character of Sir William Phips, or else purely to excuse his conduct. The bounds of this work will not permit an ample examination of the whole affair, much less a recapitulation of what has been said on both sides. Yet thus much, I think, from an impartial consideration of the facts stated by both parties, it is my duty to declare, that Sir William Phips intended well, and did his best through the whole expedition; though, perhaps, he was not, either from education, or experience, qualified for a command of so extensive a nature. But, besides any mistakes he might fall into, there were many untoward accidents which contributed to frustrate this design, and, therefore, it is equally cruel and unjust to lay the blame entirely at his door. This is certain, that no man could be more sensibly affected than he was by this disappointment; and yet he made it the business of the remaining part of his life, to dispose all things for another attempt, in hopes that the success of is might efface the memory of the former miscarriage, and this ought to be remembered to his honour.

In the latter end of October, 1691, Captain Ralph Wren, who then commanded the Norwich, had orders to sail with that and two other fourth rates to Barbadoes, and from thence to the Leeward Islands, where he was to take upon him the command of such ships as were in that station; and his general instructions were, to secure the trade and plantations, and to annoy the enemy. He sailed from Plymouth on the twelfth of December, and on the sixteenth of the next month arrived in Carlisle Bay, in Barbadoes. He had not been there long, before he was informed, that the French had a stout squadron at sea, which had taken the Jersey, that was to have been added to Commodore Wren's squadron.

Upon the news of this, the governor and council of Barbadoes agreed, that two large merchant ships should be fitted out, in order to join the five men of war already under the commodore; and that with these he should attack the French squadron, though it consisted of nine sail. Accordingly the commodore quitted Barbadoes on the thirteenth of January, and cruised for about a week, but without seeing the enemy, and then returned. Another council of war being held, it was therein resolved, that the commodore should proceed with his squadron, and the merchant ships that were then ready, for the Leeward Islands. This he accordingly performed, and on the twenty-first of February he fell in with a French squadron of eighteen men of war, of from sixty to forty guns. They laboured all night to engage him, and about eight in the morning, on the twenty-second, the enemy having a fresh gale, and most of the commodore's squadron not a breath of wind, four of their ships bore down upon the Mary, commanded by Lieutenant Wyat, who defended her very well, until the commodore could come to her assistance. At the same time the Mordaunt, commanded by Captain Boteler, with one of the hired ships, and the England frigate, commanded by Captain Stubbs, were warmly engaged in the very midst of the enemy; but they cleared themselves with all the bravery imaginable. The commodore finding the great disproportion as to strength, his squadron consisting then but of seven ships, and that the merchant ships, which were under his care, had taken the proper and usual methods for their own security, he, after a warm engagement of four hours, wisely provided for the safety of the ships of war, under his command, by bearing away. He did this, however, with so little sail, that he secured the three ships which the enemy gave chace to; and they, as much tired of his company, readily stood away from him. Thus, by a due mixture of courage and conduct, the commodore saved his small squadron, and gained an high reputation, this having been reckoned one of the best conducted actions of the war. The gallant commander, however, did not long enjoy that satisfaction which must necessarily result from performing so signal a service as he had done to his country; for as at the time of the engagement he was in a declining state of health, so very soon after, disease carried him off, and in August following, part of his squadron, under the command of Captain Boteler returned to England.

The government being very sensible of the inconveniences resulting from their want of having a sufficient force in the West Indies, resolved, in the year 1692, to put an end to the complaints that had been made from most of the colonies on that subject by sending a powerful fleet thither, under Sir Francis Wheeler, as gallant and as judicious an officer as any in the navy. The squadron he was to command consisted of twelve men of war, besides smaller vessels; and he was likewise empowered to take under his orders such ships of war as he should find in that part of the world. he had under his convoy also a certain number of transports, with fifteen hundred land troops, and had assurance given him, that he should find another body of very good troops ready assembled in Barbadoes; and in conjunction with them, he had instructions to fall upon some of the French settlements, which it was judged very practicable for him to reduce.

Sir Francis left our coasts in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-sixth of the same month touched at Madeira, from whence he sailed for Barbadoes, and arrived there on the first of March. There it was unanimously resolved, in a full council of war, that Martinico should be the place attacked; and advice was sent to General Codrington of the arrival of the squadron, that he might draw together the forces of the Leeward Islands, in order to join the regiments brought from England, and the troops (about eight hundred foot) raised in Barbadoes; to which Sir Francis Wheeler offered to join another regiment, composed of seamen, to be commanded as colonel by him in person.

April the fifteenth, 1693, the squadron, with all these troops on board, arrived at Cul de Sac Royal, in Martinico; but, instead of proceeding to perform without delay what they came thither about, it was resolved, in a council of war, held on the twentieth, that the men should re-embark, and the squadron sail to Dominica, there to take in water, and to give the men, who were very sickly, an opportunity of refreshing themselves. As the commodore was very sensible this manner of acting would be indifferently relished at home, he desired and insisted, that every member of the council of war should give his opinion in writing; by which it appears, scarcely any but Sir Francis Wheeler, and Lieutenant-Colonel Colt, were for landing and acting vigorously. The reasons advanced by such as voted for a contrary measure, were, that the enemy had a superior strength, that one full third of our soldiers were Irish Papists, not to be relied on, and that hazarding an engagement in these circumstances, was hazarding the whole Leeward Islands, since, in case of a defeat, they had not a sufficient force to defend them. These were chiefly insisted on by General Codrington, who declared, however, that he was ready to attempt Dominica, provided the fleet could remain in those parts six weeks or two months; but this being inconsistent with the commodore's instructions, and the troops from Barbadoes impatient to return, was not, and, indeed, could not be complied with. Such was the issue of this expedition, of which, in England, from the commodore's known character, there were high expectations. However, it may not be amiss to peruse his own state of the case.

" On the 30th of March, the fleet sailed from Barbadoes, having on board the regiments of Foulke, Goodwin, two hundred recruits of Lloyd's, and the two Barbadoes regiments of Salter and Butler; and on the first of April they arrived at Martinico, and anchored in the Cul de Sac Marine, the South-east part of the island, about a mile and a half from the shore. Sir Francis Wheeler, Colonel Foulke, Commander-in chief of the land forces, and Colonel Lloyd, went in a sloop to see for a convenient place, in order to land our men; the enemy had several small parties along the shore, from one of which a musket shot struck Sir Francis under the right pap, and fell down at his feet, having only left a great contusion.

" Orders were given for landing the forces, but the wind blowing very fresh, it was deferred till the second: when, at about nine in the morning, Colonel Foulke landed with fifteen hundred men without any opposition; the boats were immediately sent back, and towards evening the rest of the forces were likewise landed. On the third they continued ashore, and burnt and destroyed all the houses and plantations about Cul de Sac Marine, most of which were good sugar works; the inhabitants and negroes flying into the woods. The fourth, the forces returned on board.

" The fifth, Sir Francis Wheeler went ashore, with a detachment of five hundred men, in the Bay towards the Diamond, and burnt several houses and plantations, and at night came on board again. The same day, a lieutenant of one of the Barbadoes regiments going ashore to a plantation without order, with six or seven soldiers besides the boat's crew, they were way-laid by the enemy, two of them killed and the rest taken prisoners.

" The sixth, Lieutenant-Colonel Lillingston was set ashore with a strong party, to destroy the country on the side of the bay towards the Diamond; and having performed the same, returned on board with his men towards night. The seventh, the Experiment brought advice, that Colonel Codrington was at sea with the forces of the Leeward, who joined us on the ninth and tenth, together with Colonel Lloyd's regiment.

" On the twelfth, in pursuance of what had been resolved on in a council of war, the whole fleet weighed and sailed down towards Fort Royal, and Port St. Pierre. On the fifteenth we got into the bay of Port St. Pierre. On the sixteenth all things were prepared for landing our men, and the fleet came to an anchor within musket shot of the shore. Our men landed on the seventeenth, and our advanced parties had some skirmishes with the enemy. Colonel Foulke commanded an eminence to be possessed, and sent out several parties, who advanced into the country, destroying all before them.

" On the eighteenth our forces posted themselves on a hill, within cannon shot of the town of St. Pierre, and several field pieces were brought ashore, which played upon the enemy, who lay behind their entrenchments. On the nineteenth the enemy made a sally upon our out guards, but were repulsed by part of Colonel Foulke's regiment, led by Captain Spraston, and pursued to their trenches, where the officer that commanded them was killed. This party was seconded by Colonel Blackston and his regiment; after which the enemy ventured out no more. Our forces continued ashore till the twenty-second, when having destroyed a great part of the island, and our men growing sickly, it was, at a council of war, not thought advisable to attempt the fort, which is a regular fortification, and very strong, but rather to embark again our men and cannon; which we did the same day in the morning, having had in the whole about one hundred and twenty men killed, and one hundred and sixty wounded, with some few officers.

" The twenty-third the fleet came to Dominica, and on the fourth of May, to St. Christopher's, where having watered, they set sail again on the eleventh; Colonel Goodwin died at St. Christopher's, Colonel Foulke at sea, with Major Abrahal, and several other officers."

Sir Francis, towards the latter end of May, sailed for New England, and arrived at Boston on the twelfth of June. He immediately proposed to Sir William Phips, then governor, the attacking Quebec a second time. But though nothing could have been more agreeable to that brave and public-spirited man, yet, as circumstances then stood, he could not close with it. Such an expedition required a strength of four thousand men at least, and these, having had no previous notice, the governor could not possibly draw together by the beginning of July, which was the very latest a fleet that was to be thus employed could sail; and therefore this grand design appearing every way impracticable, was dropt, even by those two men, who, of all others, had it most at heart. This disappointment determined the commodore to quit Boston as soon as possible; and therefore, on the third of August, he left that place, and proceeded for Newfoundland, resolving to attempt something there worthy of the force with which he left England, and the honour allowed him of carrying the union flag, from a view to the advantages which, it was not doubted, would result to the nation from his expedition.

On the eighteenth of August he arrived at Placentia, and found the enemy much stronger there than he expected; for, in the first place, the town was well fortified; next, there were in the harbour, several stout privateers, the haven itself excellently provided with batteries, heavy cannon, bombs, &c. with at least two thousand soldiers and inhabitants, well disciplined, and most of them old buccaneers. Sir Francis, however, was not to be discouraged; he called a council of war, laid down the method in which the place ought to be attacked at once by sea and land, and took upon himself the going in with the men of war to batter the great fort, which was the most dangerous part of the undertaking. However, as there were eleven land to six sea officers in this council, they resolved the whole to be impossible and impracticable. Sir Francis Wheeler was exceedingly chagrined at this new disgrace; but, to shew how little this inactivity agreed with his disposition, he gave orders for destroying the French fishery at St. Peter's; which was done effectually, and so that it was not soon or very easily recovered.

On the twenty-eighth of August he sailed from the Bay of Bulls in Newfoundland for England, where he did not arrive till the eighteenth of October following, his ships in a bad, and his men in a much worse condition, so that they were scarcely able to navigate them. Yet, as unfortunate as this expedition proved from first to last, Sir Francis Wheeler never fell under the least censure. The accounts he transmitted home, joined to the letters from the respective colonies, and the extracts of proceedings in councils of war, justified him so clearly, and set his courage and conduct in so fair a light, that, when he arrived at Portsmouth, he had the satisfaction of finding a commission appointing him rear-admiral of the red; a preferment, which, as it was obtained purely by merit, so it never exposed him to envy.—But to look now to another coast.

The royal African company, finding themselves much disturbed in their trade by the new settlements made by the French in the mouth of the river Senegal, and having exact intelligence of the schemes concerted by that nation for extending their own trade in those parts, and destroying ours, resolved to exert the great force they had in Guinea, to secure themselves from all these apprehensions, by attacking the enemy immediately, in order, if possible, to the dispossessing them of their settlements, before they could gain any intelligence of the design. If, on their forming this project, they had applied themselves to the administration, and had either procured assistance for the execution of it, or assurance of having their conquests protected, they would have certainly carried their point, and the French have been beaten out of that advantageous trade, perhaps for ever.

But they were at this time so much afraid of the enemy's penetrating whatever was transacted at the secretary's office, that the African company resolved to risk this undertaking, without communicating their secret to any body. With this view they sent orders to John Booker, Esq. then their agent-general in Guinea, to attempt, if he found it practicable, the execution of the design which they had formed; and, that he might be satisfied as to the authority upon which he acted, they sent him a copy of the commission they had received from the king and queen, empowering them to commit hostilities, and annoy the enemy in all places within their jurisdiction.

Mr. Booker, upon receipt of these letters and this commission, immediately applied himself to execute what the company directed, and in the month of December, 1692, having drawn together a sufficient force, he embarked them on board the company's ships and sloops, and, sailing from the river of Gambia, arrived in the mouth of the river of Senegal on new-year's-day, 1693. Having with some difficulty got over the bar, he made the necessary dispositions for attacking Fort Bourbon; but the governor, M. Dumoulin, knowing his own condition best, and that he must soon be compelled to surrender, sent to Mr. Booker, to demand terms, upon which he offered immediately to give up the place. This proposition was accepted, and the English that evening entered into possession of the fort, which the French had held upwards of fifty years.

Mr. Booker continued here till the twenty-fifth of the same month, and then embarked his forces in order to make a descent on the island of Goree, the only place which remained to the French in Guinea. He arrived there on the first of February; and, after alarming the enemy till the fourth, he in the night landed an hundred men under the old fort, from whence he advanced to attack the new, called the fort of St. Michael, a well-fortified place, furnished with twenty-eight pieces of cannon. They made some shew of defending themselves at first; but, being indifferently provided with ammunition, about noon they desired to capitulate, and on the eighth marched out with all military honours, and were carried to James-island, in virtue of the articles signed by Mr. Booker; from whence they were to be transported into Europe on board the company's shipping, but at their own expence.

Affairs in the West Indies went all this time extremely ill: the French destroyed our trade by their privateers, disturbed our settlements continually, and frequently made descents upon them, particularly on Jamaica, where they committed great havock, and enriched themselves exceedingly at our expence. The few ships of war we had in those parts were so far from being able to defend our colonies effectually, that several of them were taken by the enemy; and, in short, things were in so bad a way, that the administration at home thought the loss of our colonies no improbable thing, as appears by the instructions given to the commodores of the squadrons, and the commanders-in-chief of the land-troops. On the other hand, our good allies the Spaniards were no less, or rather were still more distressed by the enemy than we; all trade between their colonies was destroyed, their coasts plundered, and every thing subject to the mercy of the privateers, that were equipped in whole squadrons from the French settlements in Hispaniola. As I profess to speak truth without reserve as far as I can discover it, so, upon this occasion, I think myself obliged to say, that these advantages were not so much owing either to the force or courage of the French in those parts, as to the want of public spirit and right management in us, as well as in the Spaniards.

The French governors seem to have had nothing so much at heart as the glory of their country, and a just discharge of their duty; whereas ours were generally involved in disputes with the people they should have protected, and much more intent on increasing their own private fortunes, and that too at any rate, than desirous of vindicating the honour of the nation, and securing the properties of those they governed. In one thing only they were commendable, that from time to time they made the most pressing instances to the ministry at home to take more care of our concerns in the West Indies, by sending proper squadrons, and with them sufficient supplies of land-forces into those parts.

About the beginning of the year 1694, some proposals were laid before the council, for our undertaking, in conjunction with the Spaniards, to drive the French out of the island of Hispaniola. To this there was at first some attention given; but afterwards it being represented, as indeed the truth was, that the Spaniards, at the bottom, were not either willing or able to join with us in any such undertaking, it was laid aside. Other business intervening, it does not appear that either the council or the Board of Admiralty thought any more of the plantations till towards the latter end of the year, when they were alarmed with the account of a brisk attempt made upon Jamaica by M. Ducasse, the French governor of St. Domingo. He sailed in the month of June with three men of war, and twenty-three transports, having on board fifteen hundred men for the coast of Jamaica, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth of the same month, and made a descent on Port Morant, which they found abandoned, and, marching from thence up the country, they plundered, burnt, and destroyed whatever they met, and carried off money and effects to a very great value. But they soon found, that the fine schemes of conquest which they had formed to themselves were altogether impracticable, and that the only thing they had to do was to return with what they had got. The people of Jamaica, when they found their property in danger, assembled readily for its defence, and behaved themselves so well in an engagement with the French, that it contributed not a little to make the latter for the present sick of this design, and to hinder them from resuming any project like it afterwards.

The complaints that were sent home on this affair, joined to the representations of other colonies, the remonstrances of the West India merchants, and the fear of a parliamentary inquiry, which was then a thing of all others the most terrible, obliged the ministry to resume this long-neglected subject, and to think seriously of sending to America such a force, and under such officers, as might do more than had hitherto been done. With this view they directed, that a squadron of five sail of men of war, and two fire-ships, with twelve transport-vessels, should be got ready, with the utmost diligence and secrecy, to rendezvous at Plymouth in the beginning of the year 1695. The command of the squadron was given to Captain Robert Wilmot, an officer of great reputation and experience. The command of the land-forces was intrusted with Colonel Luke Lillingston, and that they might be the more subject to orders, and better directed, they were reduced into a single regiment, consisting of twelve hundred men; and, besides these, there were spare arms for another regiment, and, in short, every thing else provided that could be desired for securing the success of such an expedition; and all this was done with such secrecy, that even the officers who were to be employed had no distinct knowledge of the particular design they were to execute, but only knew in general, that they were to be sent to the West Indies to protect our plantations, and annoy the enemy.

When all things were ready, the commodore had his instructions given him sealed up, with orders not to open them till he arrived in the latitude of forty degrees. Instructions were also given to Colonel Lillingston for the regulating of his conduct, and for giving him a clear view of the extent of his command. Before they set out for Plymouth, both the commodore and the colonel were separately exhorted to be extremely careful in keeping up a right correspondence, because that hitherto all our expeditions had suffered more through the weakness and misunderstandings of our own commanders, than through any extraordinary courage or conduct shewn by the enemy; and, that this might be the easier, their commands were made as distinct as, the nature of the service considered, it was possible.

The squadron sailed from Plymouth the latter end of the month of January; but, before they were in a condition to act, the commanders differed, and all things were in confusion. Colonel Lillingston in his account asserts, that the commodore opened his instructions in an unwarrantable manner, and that, after he had done so, he proposed to the colonel to take what care they could of themselves at the expence of the public service. The colonel rejected this offer as became a man of honour, and the commodore thenceforward prepared to execute his scheme in spite of all that the colonel could do to prevent him.*

Towards the latter end of March, 1695, they arrived before the city of St. Domingo, where the Spanish governor, on the receipt of the king of Spain's letters, promised them all the assistance in his power; but how he performed this promise, is not very well agreed. Mr. Secretary Burchet in his history, from the letters, no doubt, of Commodore Wilmot, charges him with creating unnecessary delays, which were of great prejudice to the expedition.* On the other hand, Colonel Lillingston asserts, that the Spanish governor behaved in every respect like a man of honour, concerted with him the measures necessary to be taken for attacking Cape François, and performed all he undertook with the utmost punctuality. It must be observed, that the force of the allies then in Hispaniola was such, as that the ruin of the French settlements might have been well expected from it. The Spanish governor marched one thousand seven hundred men; the commander of our land-forces was able to debark about twelve hundred; the commodore promised to join his force with five hundred seamen; the Spaniards actually added three men of war to our fleet, and, to prevent any disputes about the command, the Spanish admiral took down his flag.

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* Reflections on Burchet's Memoirs. I have been the longer in my account of this business, that the reader may see what are the true reasons why conjunct expeditions never succeed, and how necessary it is to call officers strictly to account when they live to return home, in order to put an end to such shameful practices.

The first thing that was attempted was the ruin of the French settlement at Cape François When the fleet was arrived within sight of the place, the commodore absolutely prescribed the place where the land-forces should go on shore; and though Colonel Lillingston represented to him, that it was extremely hard to oblige the troops to a march of five leagues and a half, when, by only rowing one league and a half, the boats might land them close by the fort which they were to attack, the commodore gave him barely the hearing, but pursued his own project, and they soon discovered with what view.

The English and Spanish troops joined, and continued their fatiguing march till they arrived within five miles of Fort St. Francis, where they saw the French blow up their works, and abandon the place.

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* Burchet's Naval History. Indeed this gentleman seems to have had an extraordinary pique against the Spaniards, whom, though our allies at that time, he never mentions but with reproach. This is the more injurious, since that writer, though he had so great an opportunity, never supports what he advances by any authority. It would, however, be hard to set the judgment of a single man so high as to sacrifice to it the character of a whole nation.

When the troops came up, they were surprised to find the English colours hoisted on the fort, and a single seaman left to attend them: but the mystery was soon explained; Commodore Wilmot no sooner saw the place abandoned, than he rowed to shore with five hundred men, entered it, and carried off all that was worth carrying. This disgusted, as it well might, both the English and Spanish forces; and, if they had not been composed of veteran troops, and men who had a great respect for their officers, a mutiny must have followed, which would have destroyed the whole design. But Colonel Lillingston pacified them as well as he could, by promising to take care they should not be treated in this manner for the future, if it were in his power to prevent it.

After this extraordinary exploit it was resolved to attempt Port de Paix, where M. Ducasse commanded in person; but he quitted the place, leaving in it a garrison of six hundred men.

On the first of June the English and Spanish troops marched by two different roads towards the place they were to attack, and the squadron sailed thither at the same time, but with this extraordinary circumstance, that, if the Spanish admiral out of pure humanity had not left some transports to take in our sick men, they must have been left to perish; for Commodore Wilmot had something else in his head than to take care of invalids, and had therefore sailed as soon as the resolution was taken. The march was very fatiguing; it took up sixteen days before they arrived in sight of Port de Paix, and then there was a great deal of time lost in getting the artillery and ammunition on shore. At last this too was performed, and then the siege of the place was begun in a regular manner: and the commodore, to shew his willingness to assist, landed a great body of seamen, and invested it on the other side.

On the third of July, the breach being practicable, and Colonel Lillingston employed in making the necessary dispositions for a general storm, the enemy took a resolution of deserting the place, and forcing their way through the quarter of the commodore. Their force consisted of about five hundred and thirty men, of which about one hundred and fifty were negroes, but well armed and disciplined. Their greatest difficulty was to carry off their women, children, and the most valuable part of their effects. The latter they packed up first, and put them in small bundles on the backs of the women, who, with the children, marched in the front, under a good escort, while three hundred men fell into the quarters of our seamen, and, by exposing themselves to a very brisk fire, which lasted for a long time, gave the rest an opportunity to retreat. The affair was conducted with equal resolution and address; but not without a very considerable loss.

Colonel Lillingston, as soon as he heard the firing, guessed at the cause, and immediately detached his brother with two hundred and fifty men, to support the seamen. When Major Lillingston arrived, the affair was over, and he marched directly to take possession of the fort, in order to secure whatever the French had left behind them; and having posted centinels every where, and put the rest of his men under arms, he thought that all was safe, but in this he was mistaken; Commodore Wilmot, at the head of his whole corps of seamen, followed him instantly. As soon as the commodore came up to him, he clapped his hand upon his shoulder, with this familiar salutation, "Now, major, I am stronger than you." After which, he removed his guards, broke open the store-houses, and carried off every thing that was worth taking, "with a dexterity," says Colonel Lillingston, "very natural to seamen."

This kind of proceeding was not likely to produce much good; the commodore offered to carry the sick men to Jamaica, and to leave Colonel Lillingston to attempt, in conjunction with the Spaniards, the taking

Leogane and Petit-Guavas; but they were weary of such kind of treatment, and had so many men disabled by the unnecessary hardships to which they had been exposed, that it was resolved, in a council of war, not to prosecute either of the designs beforementioned; but to demolish the fort, ruin the adjacent country, carry off the artillery they had taken, and sail with all the English forces to Jamaica.

To this the Spanish governor consented, because he saw the impossibility of their performing, in the condition they were in, what they had projected; and of this he was the better judge, because he had an exact account of the French forces that M. Ducasse was assembling at Cul de Sac, and with which, it was expected, he would march to give them battle, as having no other means of preserving the French settlements; though in this there was a great deal of danger.

It must not be supposed that, because this expedition was in itself very ill managed, and far from being glorious to those that undertook it; it must not, I say, be therefore supposed, that it did but very little prejudice to the French.

The confederate army, in sixty days, ruined their plantations for a hundred miles round, carried off a thousand negroes, demolished two strong forts, wherein they took one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with a vast quantity of all sorts of ammunition and naval stores; so that there seems to be no reason to think Colonel Lillingston exaggerated, who computes the loss of the French at 200,000*l.** But what recompence is this for the expence which the nation was at in fitting out such a squadron, and in sending so great a body of land-troops so far? What opinion must the commodore's conduct give our allies, the Spaniards, of English armaments, and what notions could they entertain of the significancy of our naval force, when they saw it so flagrantly misapplied; our commander in chief having regard only to his private views, and encouraging his seamen upon all occasions to behave like pirates? How much must this miscarriage at once disgrace and discourage an administration, since it seemed to shew, that all attempts of this sort would prove as fruitless for the future, and serve only to exhaust the treasures of this nation, in order to enrich such as least deserved it? I am very sorry that I have been obliged to say so much; but every reader will do me the justice to own, that this subject compelled me to it. We suf-

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* It is necessary for me here to give the reader some account of the authorities on which the facts mentioned in the text are founded. In the year 1703, Secretary Burchet published his Memoirs of Transactions at Sea, during the War with France, from 1688 to 1697 In these Memoirs, p. 305, he gives a large account of this expedition, which is altogether in favour of Mr. Wilmot, and was, very probably, transcribed from his letters. In 1704, Colonel Luke Lillingston published his Reflections on

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Mr. Burchet's Memoirs, in which he advances nothing but upon undeniable authority, producing instructions, letters, affidavits, and other necessary papers upon every occasion. Some months after, Mr. Burchet published a Justification of his Naval Memoirs, in answer to Colonel Lillingston, which are supported only by extracts from journals of persons, who were disposed to set their own proceedings in a good light, and, which is strange, acknowledges he neither asked or desired any account from Colonel Lillingston, in order to have an opportunity of comparing evidence on both sides. This was the more extraordinary, as King William, prejudiced by the admiralty accounts, looked coldly on the colonel, till, upon examining the affair, he was undeceived, and granted him a pension of two hundred pounds a-year, which was continued by Queen Anne. So that his Memoirs seemed a censure upon their Majesties' bounty. Yet, notwithstanding all this, when Secretary Burchet came to publish his Naval History in 1720, he, in a manner, transcribed what he had before said in his memoirs, correcting only a few facts from Colonel Lillingston's book, by which, however, he admits its authority, but without setting any mark of ignominy upon this most scandalous expedition. At this, Mr. Lediard very honestly expresses his surprise; but, for my own part, when I consider that the admiralty never thought this affair worth an inquiry, I do not at all wonder their secretary did not think proper to censure it.

fered very long for the misdeeds of those times, and the false pity that was shewn in letting slip the public examination of a thing so scandalous as this was.* Reflections like these, on the faults of our ancestors, are proper lessons for the present generation; and I think it my duty to inculcate them, in order to prevent our being wanting, in the same manner to ourselves and our posterity.

The account given us of this affair, by French writers, agrees pretty well with our own. It is true, that they gave great commendations to M. Ducasse, governor of St. Domingo, who was certainly a very gallant man, but who, as certainly, had no opportunity of shewing his bravery on this occasion. In the main, however, they agree, that a misunderstanding between the allies proved the ruin of the whole affair; and that nothing could more amaze, and at the same time overjoy the people, than the news of the English troops embarking for Jamaica did M. Ducasse and his army. The same writers intimate, that the colony of Jamaica was much wanting to itself, in not laying hold of this opportunity to make a descent on the French settlements, in revenge for the mischiefs done them by the inhabitants of this colony, under M. Ducasse, the year before, which, if they had done, in all probability the French must have been driven out of Hispaniola; and, as things then stood, there is no great reason to doubt that the Spaniards would have been very well pleased to have seen an English colony settled in their room, as well knowing their own inability to preserve the island without such assistance.

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* The general answer to what has been said upon this subject is, that all inquiry was prevented by the commodore's death. But, surely, this is a very poor excuse. To an intelligent reader it will appear, that an effectual inquiry might have been more easily made after his death, than in the life of the commodore. His influence was then determined, he could not be hurt by the inquiry, all his creatures were at full liberty to speak; and, as knowing the truth only was of importance to the public, in order to prevent such detestable actions for the future, the burying all this villany, as far as possible, in oblivion, is inexcusable to the nation.

But all these views for the glory of England were effectually defeated by the sailing away of the English squadron from Hispaniola, on the 23d of July, 1695, with the land-forces on board. The governor and people of Jamaica gave the commodore a very indifferent reception, having had previous intelligence of his behaviour through the whole affair. Several councils of war were held, to consider how practicable a second attempt might be in conjunction with a considerable force from this island. But, after much deliberation, this design also came to nothing. The commodore, in the mean time, followed his business closely; that is to say, he converted the plunder he had taken into money, which he vested in all sorts of merchandise fit for the English market, and took in the goods privately on the back of the island. When this was done, his next care was to get back to England with his squadron, with the great wealth he had amassed on board of it. He left Jamaica on the 3d of September, 1695, but met with a very bad passage.

On the shoals of Florida he lost a fourth-rate man of war, in a manner which gave great cause to suspect he never intended to bring her home.* After this, an epidemic distemper broke out on board the

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* One may see by Colonel Lillingston's whole book, how much more jealous men of honour are of their reputation, than statesmen of a nation's glory. The colonel's account of this affair was printed but seven years after the thing happened, and yet no search was made into the matter. His words are these:

" It would be a most diverting thing, abating for the disaster of it, and the lives lost in it, to hear a true particular of the loss of the Winchester man of war. If I am not misinformed, there would come to light a great many hidden circumstances, very useful to the nation in general, if the loss of that man of war were inquired into. If due examination were made, whether all the stores and guns that were pretended to be in her, were really on ships, which carried off a multitude of sailors and soldiers, and not a few officers, among whom, was the commodore himself. This disease prevailed at last to such a degree, that there was scarcely found men enough to bring home the squadron, which did not arrive till very late in the year. I cannot help closing this account by observing, that Commodore Wilmot left sixteen thousand pounds in effects on board his own ship, which engaged his family in a long suit with Captain Butler. Such are the wretched effects of sacrificing public concerns to the narrow views of private interest!

Towards the latter end of the year 1696, the nation was again alarmed with the report of an invasion. It was known that the French were fitting out a strong squadron at Brest; and for what service, the intelligence that our secretaries had could not inform them. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, therefore, was sent with a considerable force to block them up, which, however, the French avoided; and it was then given out at home, that our vigilance had disappointed the designs of the enemy, and obliged them to abandon all thoughts of a descent. In this we only deceived ourselves, for our merchants quickly came at the knowledge of the true scheme, which was, the sending a strong squadron into the West Indies, to attack some of the Spanish plantations in those parts.* The

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board her; and if the loss of that ship did not serve for a colour to pretend the loss of many things, which were otherwise disposed of." Lillingston's Reflections.

* In order to support this fact, I shall give the reader a passage from the Monthly Mercury for December, 1696. "The great noise made about Pointis's squadron that was equipping at Brest, and which, as it was furnished with a vast number of scaling ladders, bombs, pontons, and other materials for a descent, and for the attack of places on shore, had given the alarm to all the dominions of Great Britain, is at last over; and those that were most frighted, are now most inclined to treat it with contempt; for whether it was, that Pointis wanted a money-wind to carry him out of port, or that his project had not received the

Sieur Pointis was the person who formed the plan of this undertaking, and who had been no less than three years in bringing it to bear.

The French king had suffered a great number of private persons to contribute towards this enterprise, and the strongest assurances were given them, that whatever profits accrued thereby, should be fairly divided amongst them. Orders were privately sent to M. Ducasse, in Hispaniola, to assemble as many buccaneers as he could, with vessels proper to support them; and he was to have these ready to join M. Pointis's squadron, as soon as it appeared. The true design all along was upon Carthagena; but such as pretended to be in the secret at the French court, gave out, that the king intended this armament to execute a project, long ago formed by M. Ducasse, of driving the Spaniards entirely out of Hispaniola. But, notwithstanding this variety of reports, some of King James's adherents fancied that they had penetrated farther than any of these politicians, and that the true design of this mysterious armament was against Jamaica; and of this, as Englishmen, they thought it their duty to advise our court.*

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least sanction of the court, so it was, that his Britannic Majesty had time enough to send Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a strong squadron to inspect this fleet, which was reported to be strong enough to attempt the invasion of his kingdoms; and, on his looking into the port, it appeared there were but sixteen men of war of all sorts there; so that, whatever the design of Pointis's squadron was, it seems to be vanished into smoke."

* The political tracts of that year best inform us what the sentiments of the world were upon that occasion, because later writers are apt to impose upon us, by pretending that this or that great minister had actually discovered the secret very early, though, for certain reasons of state, it was not published. Now it clearly appears from those writings, that nothing of this kind happened; and it is as certain from Pointis's journal, that he never had any other view than that of attacking Carthagena, notwithstanding so many other projects were talked of. The information I speak of from France, I know from unquestionable authority; for, as the author of the Jewish letters rightly observes,

At first, this was considered as a very extraordinary piece of intelligence, which alarmed us the more, because, considering the force we had in that part of the world, if they had really attempted this island, there was but too great probability of their succeeding.

When this matter, however, came to be deliberated upon in council, and several of the most intelligent persons there seemed convinced that the blow was meant at us, King William declared himself of a contrary opinion, for a reason which shewed how well he understood mankind, and how justly the French king dreaded his superior capacity in the closet. His Majesty observed, that the basis of the French king's new expedition was private interest, not public utility, or national glory, for which reason he concluded they would not either endeavour to conquer Hispaniola, or attack Jamaica, but attempt the taking the Spanish galleons, or the surprising of Carthagena. The good sense of this observation brought over every body to his Majesty's opinion, and the sequel will shew, that the Sieur Pointis and the rest of the French commanders, M. Ducasse always excepted, never considered, in this expedition, what was best to be done, but how much might be got, in which piratical kind of knowledge they proved much greater proficients than the buccaneers themselves.*

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the English refugees at St. Germain's were quite a different sort of people from the refugees in Soho; for they loved their country, though they were banished from it, and, like the Greek exiles of old in the Persian court, shewed those who were inured to slavery, how great a blessing it is to be born and bred up FREE.

* Bishop Burnet, in his History of his own Times, vol. ii. expresses a good deal of dislike to the management of our affairs at sea in this critical conjuncture; but, whoever considers the matter strictly, will find all the reason in the world to commend the disposition made by our court for preventing the French from executing their design in the West Indies. We ought always to distinguish between the laying of a scheme, and the carrying it into execution; for the same praise is due to the contrivers of a good

To frustrate this blow, wherever it was intended, orders were given for a small squadron to assemble at Portsmouth under the command of Captain Meeze, and other orders were at the same time dispatched to Mr. Neville, who commanded our fleet in the Mediterranean, and who was now made vice-admiral, which he was directed to open, when he had taken due care of the homeward-bound fleet, and should be fifty leagues S. W. by W. from Cadiz. He found himself in this situation about the middle of the month of February, 1696-7, and, then consulting his instructions, found that he was to join Captain Meeze's squadron at the island of Madeira, where, after cruising a long time, he was met by the captain, now made a rear-admiral, in his own ship the Bristol; and, the Lightning fire-ship having lost company with the rest of his squadron in a fog, a little after he left the Isle of Wight. On the seventeenth of April Vice-admiral Neville arrived at Barbadoes, where he found most of the ships he expected, except the Dutch, who joining him, however, soon after, they bore away for Antigua, where they arrived the third of May, 1697. There it was resolved in a council of war to sail for Porto Rico, in order to take as much care as possible of the Spanish galleons. Before he reached his intended port, he had intelligence, that M. Pointis had sailed from Hispaniola on the twenty-first of March, N. S. with twenty-six ships small and great. It was then resolved in a council of war to proceed forthwith to Jamaica, in order to take in a supply of water and provisions.*

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scheme, though it fails of its effect, as if it had met with the wished-for success. Here was a force superior to the French, who had been three years providing theirs, assembled in less than three months; and, if the orders given to our admirals had been strictly complied with, they had been as early in the West Indies as the enemy; if they were not, it was no fault either of the council, or the board of admiralty.

* Mr. Burchet tells us, both in his Memoirs and his History, that Vice-admiral Neville cruized fifty-eight days about the Ma-

On the fifteenth of May, 1697, the admiral being off the east end of the island, met with a sloop, the master of which informed him, there was a flying report of the French squadron's being before Carthagena; upon this he stayed no longer than was absolutely necessary to take in water, but sailed from Port-Royal, and attempted to go through the Leeward channel; but in that he was prevented by the dying away of the land-breeze, and contrary to what had been ever known by all persons acquainted with those parts, the sea-breeze blew for six days and six nights together, during which time an English sloop came in, that left Porto-Bello the eighteenth of this month, in company with the galleons, which were fifteen in number, and two days after parted with them, steering away N. N. E. for Jamaica, where they intended to take in provisions, for which they were so much straitened, that they had not enough to carry them to the Havannah. The vice-admiral sent out two sloops to look for them, the one off the keys of Point-Pedro, and the other off those of Porto-Morant, and to let their general know, that he was going to Carthagena to see what could be done against the French, but that he would return to Jamaica in a short time. The twenty-fourth of the same month he took advantage of a small gale from shore to steer for Carthagena, in hopes of finding the French either embarrassed in the siege of the place, or in embarking the plunder; for, according to the best accounts he could get, the Spaniards were very strong there, and had been so lucky also as to have pretty early intelligence of the visit that was

deiras, to which, if he thought himself bound by his instructions, he was justified; but, however, this certainly proved the ruin of the whole affair; for, if he had stood away for Barbadoes, instead of cruizing there, he might have come time enough to have attacked the French before they left Hispaniola, or at least he might have followed them to Carthagena, where, if he had attacked their fleet while their army was engaged in the siege, their whole force must have been destroyed.

designed them; but the cross accidents, that kept the vice-admiral so long on the coast of Jamaica, frustrated his good intentions, and hindered our retaking from the French the best part of what they took from the Spaniards, which must otherwise probably have happened.*

In order to give a distinct account of this extraordinary affair, which is somewhat partially related both by English and French writers, I must pursue the history of Pointis's voyage, and shew how and when he executed the scheme which he proposed; for this will naturally bring us back to this very point of time when Vice-admiral Neville sailed in search of him and his squadron. As the success of Pointis's expedition depended upon the assistance he was to receive at St. Domingo, he sailed thither directly, and arrived on the coast February 19, 1697. The governor, M. Ducasse, had taken care to provide every thing pursuant to his instructions, so that the Sieur Pointis met with no retardment but what proceeded from his own imperious disposition, which hindered him from giving the buccaneers the satisfaction they expected; and this produced a mutiny or two, which nothing could have quieted but the presence of M. Ducasse, who was actuated wholly by public spirit, and exerted his utmost interest among these people to keep them steady; at the same time he suffered as much as they did from the insolence of the general, who, proud of his commission, and full of himself, behaved without any regard either to the rank or circumstances of others.

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* The admiral's going to Jamaica was another misfortune; for, as it will be hereafter shewn, if he had sailed directly on the first intelligence he had for Carthagena, he must have surprised M. Pointis, and destroyed his whole force. But if, according to the admiral's journal, he was under an absolute necessity of taking in water; this is to be considered as an unavoidable misfortune. These are points I leave to the reader's judgment to determine; for none of our accounts afford us sufficient light to decide positively on the matters of fact, though this is certainly in the admiral's favour, that he was known to have had as much personal courage as any man, and that he afterwards shewed as great an inclination to fight upon this occasion as any man ever did, or indeed could do.

After about a fortnight's stay to forward all necessary preparations, the whole fleet sailed for Carthagena, and arrived before that city on the third of April. The force brought from France by M. Pointis consisted of seven large ships of war, about ten frigates, and small vessels of several sorts, on board which were two thousand two hundred and sixty seamen, and one thousand seven hundred and fifty soldiers, in all four thousand and ten, to which M. Ducasse added another stout squadron, on board of which were fifteen hundred buccaneers, soldiers, and volunteers. They first attempted the strong fort of Boca-Chica, which was carried by assault; then they attacked Neustra Signora de la Popa, a monastery on a hill which commands the place; they besieged and took likewise the fort of St. Lazarus, and at length stormed the suburbs, which forced the governor to think of a capitulation; and this, being granted him on pretty good terms, was concluded April 24, 1697, when the city was surrendered to the French, who lost before it upwards of five hundred men; neither could it have been ever taken but for the assistance of M. Ducasse, and the troops he commanded, though Pointis used them very ill through the whole affair, and, after it was taken, actually shut them out of the city, putting off from time to time the distribution of the booty, and not allowing so much as to put a check on such as received it.*

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* In the whole of this relation I reduce all the dates to the old style for the sake of comparing them readily, which could not have been otherwise done. As to the facts, we have a vast variety of relations, though I think but two of any great authority; *viz.* Pointis's own Memoirs, and the History of St. Domingo, written by Father Charlevoix on the Memoirs of Father Pers, and from the Registers in the Public Offices of the Marine in France,

Many disputes have been raised as to the value of the plate and other effects taken by the Sieur Pointis in this place. Some have carried this so high as forty millions of livres, and others, amongst whom is M. Pointis himself, reduce it to nine millions. There are several reasons which have induced different writers to impose upon their readers in this particular.* All the Spanish authors who have mentioned this, say, they had sent the nuns, together with one hundred and twenty mules, laden with gold and jewels, forty miles up into the country, before the French arrived; but then it is visibly their interest to abate, as much as possible, the credit of this expedition, and this perhaps is now become the French interest too. The Sieur Pointis, and his partizans, had also cause sufficient to state this account as low as possible, because, the lower they brought it, the less they had to account for, which was what they wanted. Our historians in those days were desirous of lessening the success of all French expeditions, and therefore, as we see in the celebrated work of Bishop Burnet, that prelate affected to treat this as a miscarriage, by which the French, on the whole, could scarcely be called gainers.†

But one who is solicitous only about truth will make proper allowances on such occasions, and, by

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where I find these differ too widely to be reconciled; therefore I prefer, without ceremony, the latter, because it is evident, that Sieur Pointis had views to serve, whereas Father Charlevoix writes without the least bias. Occasionally I have recourse to other authorities, which I refer to in their proper places.

* Histoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. Memoires de Pointis, &c. Father Daniel, in his Journal Historique de Louis XIV. computes the riches brought home by Sieur Pointis at ten millions; and this, as I take it, was the commonly received calculation at that time.

† Bishop Burnet might possibly be deceived by the second accounts from France, which were all against Pointis; but if he had inquired into what followed, and how much money was recovered when this business came to be narrowly sifted, he would have altered his opinion. The French do not suffer a few great officers

comparing these different accounts together, will endeavour to acquire a just notion of a thing, with which, for many reasons, surely both we and posterity have a right to be acquainted. After taking all imaginable pains to this purpose, I venture to assert, M. Pointis carried home upwards of twenty millions of livres; I believe I should not err in saying, twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling.*

But there is no need of lessening the profits to abate the glory of this expedition. The Sieur Pointis certainly behaved very ill through the whole affair; he disgusted the buccaneers; he treated M. Ducasse excessively ill during the whole siege; he made an unfair distribution of the effects taken; he took no kind of care of the sick and wounded, but left them in the hospitals not only without medicines but food; and, to complete his blunders, he loitered till the twenty-first of May, and did not embark his men till the sickly season came on, and they could scarcely crawl to their ships. The buccaneers were so irritated by the behaviour of Pointis, and his breaking the agreement he made with them, to force upon them a dividend of 40,000 crowns, that, as soon as they saw him and his squadron ready to sail, they returned back to Carthagena, in order, as they phrased it to look for their share of the plunder, which they did not fail of finding.

It is very evident from this account, that if our vice-admiral, on his having the first information of the enemy's being sailed for Carthagena, which was

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to cheat their owners and the public by cooking up stories destitute of proof; their government is arbitrary, and therefore, in cases like this, generally speaking, just.

* My calculation goes upon undeniable principles. The Sieur Pointis gave the Buccaneers 40,000 crowns, or 120,000 livres, for their share, computing at the rate of one tenth from the first million, and the thirtieth from every other million; and this by a very easy process, makes it clear that he estimated the whole booty at 9,000,000. But, when M. Pointis's behaviour came to be scrutinized in France, they had a decree for 1,400,000 livres more.

on the fifteenth of May, had proceeded thither instead of going to Jamaica, he had unquestionably surprised the French in the harbour of that place; and, as the Spaniards had actually assembled an army to retake the city, it is not easy to guess how the French would have escaped, who were by that time split into factions among themselves, and at least one half of them fallen sick. But though he missed them then, yet on the twenty-seventh of May, 1697, being half seas over from Jamaica, he saw the Sieur De Pointis's squadron, consisting of seven men of war, and to or three frigates, at no great distance; upon which he endeavoured to engage them, but could not. The Warwick indeed exchanged some shot with one of the Frenchmen; but in spite of all the sail she could make, the ship got away from her, as the rest did from the admiral. The Warwick, perceiving this, bore down on a fly-boat belonging to the French fleet, and took her, having on board a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, with as much plate as made the prize worth two hundred thousand pounds, and is a pretty good sample of what mighty treasures were on board the rest.

Five days the vice-admiral continued the pursuit, in which five ships, among these his own and Rear-admiral Meeze's were included, sprung their fore-top-masts, and their sails were so torn, that it was found impossible to continue the chace with any hopes of success. This again was a narrow escape; the French themselves own it, they were much inferior in force, they were ill manned, most of their ships were foul; and, if they had fought, many of them must have been taken without doubt. I see no manner of cause to censure the vice admiral's conduct on this occasion, as some have done, because it was beyond question his own and his officers interests to have fought, upon the presumption that their own superior force would have put them in possession of all the plunder the French had obtained.

Besides, they all gave sufficient proofs afterwards, that fighting was what they did not desire to avoid. I am therefore satisfied as to this point, that there was nothing of treachery or neglect of duty in this business, but that Pointis's squadron escaped by a concurrence, with respect to us, of unlucky and unavoidable accidents, unless there might be some fault in those who furnished our sails, which did not wear so well as those of the French, for which, however, the sea-officers were not to blame.

The buccaneers, on their return to Carthagena, met with no resistance; and therefore, having driven the inhabitants into the great church, they told them how General Pointis had treated them, which, as they alleged, obliged them, though against their will, to come back to make a demand of five millions, which once paid them, they promised to retire without doing any kind of violence. The poor Spaniards did their utmost to rake together this sum; but it was all in vain. The French took what they brought, and, as soon as they had done bringing, these miscreants had recourse to such cruelties, as are scarcely credible, to force discoveries. After all, in the space of about five days, they amassed near 1,000,000 of crowns in money, and above as much more in rich goods; after which they fell out amongst themselves as to the division of it, the buccaneers refusing the inhabitants of Domingo an equal share, because, as they said, they were at great expence on that island before they sailed, when the inhabitants were at home in their own houses. This dispute, however, was soon adjusted on the arrival of a ship from Martinico, with advice that a strong English squadron was in quest of them; they instantly quitted the place, embarked their plunder with all imaginable diligence, and contrived to get to sea as soon as possible, and retire to St. Domingo.

When our squadron found it impracticable to engage the French, the vice-admiral thought it expedient to proceed to Carthagena, in order to see if the galleons were safe, and how far he could be useful to the Spaniards. He arrived in the port in the evening of the thirty-first of May, and found the place quite abandoned; for the inhabitants were so much afraid of the buccaneers returning a third time, that they were fled into the woods. Two days the vice-admiral remained in the port before he prevailed upon the governor and some of the principal inhabitants to return, and then sailed, after sending a frigate to St. Jago to inform the governor of the Havannah, and the general of the gallies, of what had passed, that they might the better provide for the safety of the galleons.

On the sixth he discovered eight sail of buccaneers close under the shore; upon which, a detachment was sent to destroy them. The enemy crowded all the sail they could, in hopes of escaping, but only four were so lucky as to effect it. One was forced upon the Spanish coast, not far from Carthagena, her crew taken by the inhabitants, and compelled to work in the repair of their fortifications. Another was forced on shore on St. Domingo, and beat to pieces. The Christ, a fine ship, commanded by Captain Cofuy, who had two hundred and fifty men on board, and about 350,000 crowns in silver, was taken by a Dutch ship, as was the Flying Hart of the same force and value, commanded by Captain Pierce, by Captain Dilkes, and her crew were brought into England.

The governor of Jamaica at that time was Sir William Beeston, who, considering that the fleet must soon be obliged to return home, resolved to suggest the destruction of that nest of pirates, Petit-Guavas, to the vice-admiral, as the most important service that, as things were circumstanced, could be done to the English colonies in general, and Jamaica in particular. Vice-admiral Neville instantly complied with it, and left the execution of the scheme to Rear-admiral

Meeze, who was detached from the fleet, June 22, 1697, for this very purpose, with nine ships of war, great and small. On the twenty-seventh he arrived at a small distance from Petit-Guavas, and debarked some of his forces, ordering the ships to come in next day.

On the twenty-ninth he surprised Petit-Guavas, entering the place before it was light, and seizing the guard. He had, at first, thoughts of remaining there some short time; but the seamen, and at last, through their example, the landmen began to plunder and drink so hard, that when the rear-admiral altered his sentiments, and resolved to burn and abandon it, there was not above fifty sober men under his command, out of nine hundred. When he gave out this order, the whole was executed with such precipitation, that, notwithstanding there was abundance of gold and silver in the place, yet very little was saved or brought away. However, the burning the town, and carrying off a good number of negroes prisoners to Jamaica, was a great and seasonable service to the English colonies, and gave the enemy a remarkable check, which they did not soon recover: to say the truth, it was one of the most important actions done during the war.

Vice-admiral Neville, having wooded and watered with all possible diligence, sailed to meet Rear-admiral Meeze, and then bringing away the homeward bound ships from Jamaica, resolved to proceed to the Havannah, in order to preserve the galleons. He sailed in the beginning of July, and, coming about the middle of that month on the coast of Cuba, the seamen became excessively sickly, and Rear-admiral Meeze died before they reached the Havannah. On the twenty-second of the same month, the vice-admiral arrived before that port, and sent in advice to the governor of his want of water and other refreshments. The governor sent him a civil message, but refused to admit his squadron, and did not even supply his necessities, or at least not in all respects. As for the general of the galleons, when he was informed that the vice-admiral came on purpose to convey that rich fleet home, which was the principle point of King William's instructions, far from being satisfied with those unusual acts of kindness to allies, he excused himself from putting his ships under our protection, supposing, or at least pretending, his orders would not warrant it. The true reason however, both of his and of the governor's conduct, might probably be, their fear of having the place of the greatest consequence in the West Indies, and the richest fleet of that age, for there were fifty millions on board the galleons, taken at once, since both had been left in the vice-admiral's power, if he had been admitted into the haven.

This kind of treatment, after the pains he had taken to save the galleons, and to serve the crown of Spain on every occasion, broke the vice-admiral's spirits very much. He had always counted upon escorting the galleons, and believed so acceptable a service would entirely efface the memory of former misfortunes; but being disappointed again, and reflecting on the little service that with so strong a squadron he had been able to do his country, it threw him into a kind of hectic fever, which hung upon him till he arrived in Virginia, on the twenty-second of August, and there he died, as much of grief as of his distemper, to the great regret of all who knew him, as he was a person of courage, prudence, and integrity; who wanted not either will or abilities to do his country service, though his fortune fell short of his zeal.

By his demise the command of the squadron devolved upon Captain Robert Dilkes, who, from Virginia, arrived safely in England on the twenty-fourth of October, 1697, with the whole squadron, though poorly manned, and the ships many of them foul and rotten; so that, notwithstanding the great hopes that had been entertained of our doing mighty things in the West Indies, all came to nothing; for, besides this, we met with other disappointments in that quarter of the world, that were no less mortifying than those we have mentioned.

The Sieur Pointis thought himself safe when he arrived off Newfoundland, as not having the least knowledge that we had a stout squadron there, under the command of the late Sir John (then Captain) Norris, so that he made no difficulty of going into the Bay of Conception, and of lying there carelessly enough, though we had a force sufficient, at St. John's to have given a good account of him and his Spanish plunder. It was on the twenty-third of July our squadron had advice, that five French ships were seen in Conception Bay, and they immediately concluded it was M. Nesmond's squadron come to attack them; and, therefore, instead of going to look for the enemy, they wisely considered how, in case they fell upon St. John's, they should be best able to defend themselves, and bent all their endeavours that way.

Captain Norris was, from the beginning, a little suspicious that this was not the outward bound French squadron, and, therefore, sent the Mary galley, a clean tight ship, to discover what they were. But before they could have any news from her, he received a letter from one Mr. Alexander Cumberbatch, master of a ship taken by the French at sea, and put on shore in Newfoundland, in order to procure fresh provisions. In this letter there was a distinct account of M. Pointis's strength, and of his squadron's having on board the rich plunder of Carthagena. Captain Norris was ravished with this epistle, called a council of war immediately, and pressed that no farther time might be lost, but that without more ado, they might sail in quest of the enemy. Other people, however, were in no such haste; they doubted whether Cumberbatch's letter might not be intended to draw them out of their strength, and thereby expose St. John's, and the whole country, to the French; and accordingly, after a long debate, it was resolved in the council of war to remain where they were, and to expect the French in close quarters, without running unnecessary hazards.*

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* The reflections of Bishop Burnet on this business, are very well worth notice. "Commodore Norris's squadron", says he, "might have fallen upon the French, and would probably have mastered them; but as they had no certain account of their strength, so, being sent out on another service, they did not think it proper to hazard the attacking them; so the French got safe home, and the conduct of our affairs at sea was much censured." In Burchet's Memoirs, p. 378, and in his History, the blame is thrown entirely on the land officers, who out voted the sea officers in the council of war. The whole is strangely skimmed over in our Gazette, No. 3319, as a thing not fit to be mentioned.

I have with some difficulty recovered the minutes of this famous council of war: and, as I believe, a list of the names of those who sat in it, and their votes, cannot but be agreeable to the reader, I shall transcribe them.

A council of war at St. John's, July 24th, 1697, at which were present,

LAND OFFICERS.		SEA OFFICERS.	
John Gibson	No.	Francis Dove	Yea.
Thomas Dore	No.	Robert Stapilton	Yea.
Thomas Haudasyde	No.	James Littleton	No.
Cliff. Brexton	No.	Charles Desborow	Yea.
Griff. May	No.	Cooper Wade	Yea.
Hugh Boyd	No.	John Roffey	No.
Y. Smith	No.	James Mighells	Yea.
Rob. Dazyell	No.	Thomas Day	Yea.
H. Petit	No.	John Cranby	Yea.
George Watkins	No.	John Drake	No.
Jos. Hargrave	No.	Nicholas Trevannion	No.
		John Norris	Yea.
		Thomas Smith	No.
Eleven. No's, all.		Thirteen. Yea's 8. No's 5.	

This whole business was, in an ensuing session of parliament, examined in the House of Lords; when, upon a full view of the evidence, their lordships came to the following resolutions:

Die Lunæ, 17th April, 1699.

1. It is resolved by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, that the squadron commanded by Captain Norris, at St. John's in Newfoundland, not going out to fight Pointis, upon

About noon on the twenty-sixth, they received advice, that the five French ships were seen, the night before, at anchor a little eastward of Belle-isle, by Portugal Cove, and the next day, upon a message from Colonel Gibson, there was another consultation, where this intelligence was read; but it was resolved to remain till the two captains arrived, who were sent to make a discovery. Soon after, one of them came with twenty-one Frenchmen, that he had taken in a boat at Carboniere, who said they were sent by M. Pointis to procure fresh provisions. The other captain returned also from Portugal Cove, who saw the French ships at anchor, one of them of three decks, two from sixty to seventy guns, and two more of above fifty. The council adjourned till the next morning, and then calling the prisoners before them, they related all they knew, fearing that otherwise they should be very ill treated. They said the squadron had not been at any other port since they left the West Indies, and that hearing of an English squadron in those parts, they had appointed Placentia, in Newfoundland, for the place of rendezvous; but, through the haziness of the weather, were obliged to drop anchor in Conception Bay.

But notwithstanding all this, and other corroborative evidence, to prove that this was in reality M. Pointis's squadron, the council of war still over ruled Captain Norris, who was eager for fighting, and obliged him to remain in the harbour of St. John's, which they fortified with such industry, that when M. Nesmond arrived, which was about two and thirty days after the other squadron had been first seen, the place was in so good a state of defence, that though the French squadron consisted of sixteen sail,

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the several intelligence given, was a very high miscarriage, to the great disservice of the king and kingdom.

2. It is resolved, that the joining the land officers in the council of war, on the 24th of July, 1697, was one occasion of the miscarriage in not fighting Pointis.

of which ten were of the line of battle, yet they were so well satisfied with the sight of the preparations made for their reception, that they thought proper to retire without so much as firing a gun, and thereby left all Newfoundland in our possession, which was confirmed by the ensuing peace.

M. Pointis, however, though he got so happily clear of this affair, met with another, which gave him a good deal more trouble; for, on the fourteenth of August, 1697, he fell in with a squadron commanded by Captain Harlow, whom he boldly engaged about three in the afternoon. After a brisk dispute of two hours, the French made a signal for tacking, when one of their ships, being disabled, escaped with much difficulty, and put the rest into some confusion. They bore away as fast as possible, and by ten at night the English squadron lost sight of them. The fifteenth, being a clear day, the enemy was discovered, by four in the morning, at the distance of four leagues; upon which Captain Harlow continued the chace till evening, but with very little advantage, our ships being fouler than theirs, though they were returned from so long a voyage. The next day they got clear away, and the day following entered the harbour of Brest, having as happily and as strangely escaped a variety of dangers, as any squadron that ever went to sea.*

It is not easy to account for M. Pointis's bearing down upon Captain Harlow's squadron; nor can one readily apprehend, how the English ships, just come out of port, came to sail so much worse than the French. Some mystery there was in this, which was never revealed to the public, though, in all probability, something might be discovered to the lords of the admiralty, which it was not proper should come abroad.* Thus we have run through the history of what passed in the West Indies during this war, and are now returned to the naval transactions in Europe, in the year 1697, where we shall find not many extraordinary actions to detain us.

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* M. Pointis confesses this in his Memoirs. A Dutch Gazetteer says pleasantly, Ill-luck put on leaden boots to pursue him. See Captain Harlow's own account, in the London Gazette, No. 3317.

His Majesty going in the spring of the year to Holland, he was pleased to declare Edward Russel, Esq. then at the head of the admiralty, one of the lords-justices in his absence; and soon after, it was known, that his Majesty had created him baron of Shingey, Viscount Barfleur, and earl of Orford. These honours seemed not only fit but necessary, since his lordship, as Bishop Burnet well observes, had the whole authority of high admiral, though not the title. His presence, therefore, being requisite at the board, Sir George Rooke was declared admiral of the fleet, and actually went down, in the beginning of June, to Portsmouth, in order to take upon him the command of it. On his arrival, however, he found things but in a very indifferent condition; for though the ships made a handsome figure enough in the list at the admiralty, yet they were in fact not half manned, and worse victualled; so that if a Dutch squadron had not happily joined them, it is on all hands agreed, they could not have put to sea. But by the latter end of the month, his force being augmented by two squadrons, which had been under the command of Vice-admiral Mitchel, and Rear-admiral

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* I ground what I advance in the text, on the following advertisement, which appeared first, Thursday, September 23, 1697, London Gazette, No. 3325.

"Admiralty office, September 23. Whereas the right honourable the lords commissioners of the admiralty, did receive a letter by the post, signed A. B. which contains several things relating to the late action of Captain Harlow: these are to give notice, that, if the person who writ the said letter will apply himself to one of the secretaries of the admiralty, his name shall not be made known, without his own consent, and he shall likewise be rewarded, and preferred by their lordships.

WILLIAM BRIDGEMAN."

Benbow, the admiral found his strength increased to forty-four sail of the line, and, therefore, he put to sea for some time, but was obliged to return sooner than he intended, for want of provisions.

In the month of September he detached Vice-admiral Mitchell with a squadron, to meet and sustain Vice-admiral Neville, who was expected home with the galleons from the West Indies; but before he reached the cape of St. Vincent, he had notice of the return of that squadron, and did not, therefore, think proper to continue any longer at sea. He was afterwards ordered out again in October, when he performed nothing worthy of remark, except the bringing in fifteen Dutch East India ships, which had lost most of their anchors and cables, and must otherwise have been in great danger of perishing themselves. Soon after, he received the king's orders, to bring over the Czar from Holland, which he did; that monarch arriving in England on the eleventh of January following, and was so acceptable to that great prince, that, with the king's leave, he attended him during the whole time he stayed in England, and had the honour also to command the squadron which escorted him on his return to Holland, in his way back to his own dominions. His behaviour towards that great and glorious prince, was such as gave him entire satisfaction, so that he retained a grateful remembrance of it many years after, when he came a second time into Holland, and expressed it by taking notice of many points in naval discipline, in which he was instructed by Admiral Mitchel.

Rear-admiral Benbow sailed from Spithead on the eleventh of April, 1697, with a squadron consisting of seven third rates and two fire-ships,* and instructions to protect the trade of this nation in every instance in his power, and to annoy the enemy. With this view, he was stationed from ten to fourscore leagues from Scilly, but was able to perform nothing remarkable during the best part of the month of May, though he was joined by five ships of war more, and therefore he returned to St. Helen's about the twenty-first of that month, from whence he sailed again on the twenty-fourth, with four third rates and two fire-ships, for his former station; and, after having seen two East India ships pretty far out to sea, he received such intelligence as to our homeward bound Jamaica ships, as induced him to repair to Plymouth, in doing which, he had the good fortune to join the Virginia and West India fleets, and their particular convoys, off the Lizard; and, soon after meeting Vice-admiral Mitchel off the Start, he was by him directed to repair to Plymouth with the merchant-ships, where he received orders from Sir George Rooke to repair to the fleet then passing westward, and to take care for sending eastward a convoy with the trade.

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* London Gazette, No. 3279. Mr. Burchet says, April 10th, but I prefer the author of the Gazette, in which I find an article that deserves a place here, and therefore I shall transcribe it. "Newcastle April 10th. Yesterday morning came to our bar eight colliers from London; one of them belonging to this town,

But these orders were contradicted by others from the lords of the admiralty, dated the tenth of July, and he, in obedience to them, proceeded to the squadron before Dunkirk, which Captain Beaumont had commanded a considerable time before, consisting of six third rates, besides the Newark, two fourth, one fifth, and two fire-ships; but three of those third

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Charles Newton, master, laden with merchants goods, and carrying twelve guns, was, in her voyage here, attacked by a French privateer of fourteen guns and four patereroes: Captain Newton made a vigorous defence, and another of the merchant-ships coming to his assistance, they boarded the said privateer, took her, and have brought her into this harbour: of the French, twenty-three were killed in the fight, and the rest, sixty-six in number, are brought ashore, several of whom are wounded, and the captain so dangerously, that it is thought he will hardly recover. There was another privateer in his company, who, seeing his companion come off so ill, fell astern, and stood off to sea."

rates were ordered away to the Downs by the lords of the admiralty.

The rear-admiral, as soon as he arrived with his squadron, went in person with his boat before the pier-heads of Dunkirk, where, though he discovered not one vessel in the road, yet he saw fifteen or sixteen sail of great ships within, one of which bore a flag. With Captain Beaumont he found two orders from the lords of the admiralty, the first directing him to pursue and burn Du Bart's ships wherever he could find them, except under the protection of the forts in Norway or Sweden: the other, to obey any orders he might receive from his Majesty, who was then in Holland. On the thirtieth of July, Rear-admiral Vandergoes joined him with eleven Dutch ships, and it was proposed, that one of the squadrons should lie so, as that Dunkirk might be south of them, and the other in or near Ostend road; that, if Du Bart should attempt to pass out either at the north or east channel, they might the better discover him: but no other answer was made by the Dutch flag, than that his ships were foul, and not in a condition to pursue him.

The French ships at Dunkirk were in all eleven, from fifty to twenty-six guns; and about the beginning of August they were all, except M. Du Bart's own ship, hauled into the bason to clean, so that it was judged they were making ready to come out the next spring tide. But since our ships, as well as the Dutch, were all foul, little service could be expected from their chacing, and it was almost next to an impossibility to block up clean ships at Dunkirk with foul ones. The rear-admiral, therefore, proposed, that four of his best sailers might be ordered to Sheerness to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but to heel and scrub; and this he judged might be done before the approaching spring could afford the French an opportunity of getting over the bar. But at this time it was not thought advisable, though afterwards he received orders to do it; so that for the present he only sent the ships from time to time to the Downs to water, as they could best be spared. It is evident enough from this large account of the matter, that our disappointments were frequently owing to the want of proper orders, and the not paying a due attention to such pieces of advice as the commanders of squadrons thought themselves, in duty obliged to offer. On the twenty-third of August Du Bart left Dunkirk with five sail, having the prince of Conti on board, whom the French attempted to make king of Poland. The rear-admiral pursued him, but to no manner of purpose; and, before he returned to his station, eight other ships were gone, which he pursued likewise, but with the same want of success: and this was the last action of the war: for, on the tenth of September following, peace was concluded between England, Spain, and Holland, on the one side, and the crown of France, on the other, at Ryswick, by which the French king acknowledged King William's title, and, as the French historians say, gave up more towns than the confederates could have taken in twenty years; but this was not from any principle either of justice or moderation, but with views of quite another sort, as was foreseen then, and in the space of a few years fully appeared.

We have now brought this long war to a conclusion, and it is but just that we should offer the reader some reflections on the consequences of it to the naval power and commerce of England. First then, with respect to our navy, we have seen that the war opened with a very bad prospect; for though we had an excellent fleet, a vast number of able seamen, and perhaps as good officers as any in the world, yet the French got earlier to sea than we did, appeared with a greater force, and managed it better, though we acted then in conjunction with Holland, and, according to the general rule of political reasoning, ought to have had it in our power to have driven the French out of the sea.

All this proceeded from the sudden change in our government, which perhaps left many of our officers disaffected, and many more without having any proper degree of credit at court. Want of confidence between the administration and the commanders of our fleets is always destructive to our maritime power, and therefore, instead of wondering that things went on so ill in the three first years of the war, we may with more justice be surprised, that they went no worse. Our party divisions not only enervated our own strength, but created such jealousies between us and the Dutch as blasted the fruits that must have been otherwise produced by this close and fortunate union of the maritime powers. Of this we have the fullest proof in the case of the earl of Torrington, whom even the enemies of the government made it a point to support, because they knew that preserving him must give distaste to our allies, and who on the other hand was prosecuted by many who believed him innocent.*

But when once the government was thoroughly settled, and we acted cordially in conjunction with the States, it soon became evident, that we were much more than a match for France at sea. Our misfortunes at the beginning of the war created inquiries and censures, which were, and always will be, followed with victories; for, when officers find themselves in danger for acting ill, they will endeavour to escape it by doing well; whereas, if they once find that they may prefer private profit to that duty which they owe the public, with impunity, they will not fail to run into that broad road. This accounts for our success in the middle of the war, and the declension of it afterwards, when the Board of Admiralty began to feel its own strength, and the management of naval affairs was reduced to a court-system, by which such men were sure of protection, as could be depended on in other respects than their commands in the fleet.*

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* The reader will easily discern the force of this argument, if he considers the share the earl of Torrington had in the revolution, and the warmth with which, on his prosecution, he was supported by those who were least pleased with that event. This shews the effects of party spirit upon national affairs; for though it might be right in them to espouse the earl of Torrington, who probably acted according to the best of his judgment, yet they did it apparently from wrong motives, and with no better intention, than to mortify and distress the court.

But notwithstanding these and some other miscarriages, no less prejudicial to the interest of the nation, yet, on the whole, the French suffered much more in their maritime power than we, as Mr. Burchet has shewn us; and consequently, if we consider the situation of both nations, the ease with which it was in our power to repair our losses, and the almost insuperable difficulties the French had to struggle with in this respect, we must conclude, that not only they but the whole world had full evidence, from thence, of their being no way able to struggle against the Dutch and us in a maritime war. To make this still more apparent, I must observe, that King William, in his speech to both Houses of Parliament at the conclusion of the war, asserted our naval force to be nearly double what it was at his accession; whereas I do not find in any of the French historians, that they attempted to build new ships during the progress of the war, or to do any thing more than finish such as were then upon the stocks, purchasing, as occasion required, large merchantmen, which they converted into frigates.

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* It may possibly be thought, that I differ in my sentiments here from what I have said elsewhere as to inquiries, and therefore I take this opportunity of saying, that I would be understood so as to distinguish between proper inquiries and peevish inquiries. I call proper inquiries such as begin with things and end with men, and I take such to be peevish as presume things to be wrong, because they were done by this or that set of men. In this reign we had frequent examples of both: inquiries were set on foot in parliament, and, when they did not answer the intentions of a party, they were dropped. This certainly was very scandalous. On the other hand, Commodore Wilmot's disgraceful expedition, and several others of the same kind, were passed over without any serious inquiry at all. This, undoubtedly, was very suspicious dealing in the Admiralty, who ought to have vindicated their own uprightness by justifying the characters of such as they employed, which appears to be the judgment of Bishop Burnet himself, who, though he loved the ministers, yet could not help seeing their faults.

In this light, therefore, we were gainers by the war, of which the French seemed to be very sensible, since they avoided all general engagements; and, in particular actions between small squadrons or single ships, the strictness of their discipline gave them great advantages, since their vessels, generally speaking, were much cleaner than ours, and consequently were able to leave us whenever they found themselves too hard pressed, of which several instances have been given in the foregoing sheets. At the same time, however, it must be confessed, that the French fleets, generally speaking, behaved very well at sea, and that we suffered considerably even in those actions where we were victorious, as well as where our ships were taken by surprise, or beaten as convoys, by a superior force.*

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* The loss sustained by the English in their navy, during the war, from the year 1688 to 1697:

No. ships.		Force.	Total guns.	No. ships.		Force.	Total guns.
1	of	70 guns,	70	Bt. over 23			848
1	of	54	54	2	of	18	36
2	of	48	96	2	of	16	32
1	of	46	46	2	of	12	24
3	of	42	126	11	of	10	110
3	of	36	108	5	of	8	40
6	of	32	192	1	of	6	6
2	of	30	60	4	of	4	16
4	of	24	96				
				Tot. 50			1112
23			848				

But, with respect to our trade, it is certain, that we suffered infinitely more, not only than the French, for that must have been expected, but than ever we did in any former war, where there was a nearer balance between our trade and that of the enemy. This proceeded in a great measure from the vigilance of the French, who, as we have already shewn, made it their choice, nay, their great monarch made it his glory, to carry on the war in a piratical way, on purpose to distress our merchants, and excite a loud clamour here for a peace. Another reason why our commerce suffered so much was, that spirit of avarice which prevailed, and which engaged many merchants to attempt making a sudden fortune by suffering their ships to run, instead of waiting for a convoy. It cannot indeed be denied, that a third principal cause of our miscarriages was, the want of proper attention at the board of Admiralty, where officers were generally heard with too much, and merchants with too little favour. To this we may add that spirit of rapine and corruption which prevailed among the sea-officers at this time, and which too often induced them to consider their commissions rather as powers given them to provide for themselves and their families, than as trusts received for the benefit of the public.

We must not forget, in this enumeration of the causes of our losses in this respect, the ill conduct of our governors abroad, who were likewise totally employed in amassing fortunes, while the strictness of the French discipline obliged such as had the care of their plantations to pay a proper regard to the public service, to which alone was owing their preserving their settlements at St. Domingo, from whence they might have been driven with the greatest ease by the English and Spaniards, and yet were suffered to retain their possessions, though both nations were continually distressed by their invasions; and, in respect to this, it is no less evident, that the Spaniards were not so much to blame as we.* But, after all, the principal source of these mischiefs was, the necessity that both the Dutch and we were under of fitting out such great fleets every year, whereby all our seamen were, in a manner, employed in the public service; so that, on the one hand, the merchants were forced to send their ships to sea worse manned than formerly, and, on the other, our grand fleet and annual squadrons required so many ships, that it was impossible to furnish the necessary convoys for the security of our trade. At least this was pretended, and the very pretence, perhaps, was another cause of our losses. This, however, is out of doubt, that, taking all together, our traffic suffered excessively, our merchants were many of them ruined, and though inquiries into the mismanagements, which heightened these misfortunes, were not prosecuted with that vigour they might have been, yet such discoveries were made as produced an absolute distrust of, and distaste against those who had the direction of naval affairs, a loud clamour against the war, and an universal desire of peace at any rate.

After this impartial representation of the state of our affairs at its conclusion, we need not wonder that a peace, and a peace so advantageous as that of Ryswick was, should give the greatest satisfaction to the nation in general, and to the trading part in particular. That it did so, may appear from the government's causing a special gazette to be published, on purpose to make known the French king's ratification and proclamation of the peace at Paris two days sooner than it would have otherwise been;* and by the numerous addresses of thanks and congratulation, which were sent up from all parts of the kingdom to felicitate his Majesty upon that occasion, and to express their just sense of being delivered from the burden and expence of so bloody and destructive a war. Neither ought it at all to abate the merit of this treaty, that the French struck medals, magnifying their success in the war, and their demonstrating themselves thereby a match for all the rest of Europe, since, if they had really been so victorious, and had gained such advantages, the wonder was so much greater that they should stoop to such a peace. But though it may be true, that, in many respects, the French had the advantage in this war, yet undoubtedly they foresaw they were unable to support so vast an expence as it brought upon them, and as their weakness increased much faster in proportion than that of the maritime powers, this, in a few campaigns, would have quite changed the face of things, and either brought on the total ruin of France, or obliged her to make peace upon still worse terms than were demanded now.

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* This appears plainly from the French history of that island, where it is owned, that a storm delivered them, in the beginning of the year 1698, from a descent from Jamaica, and that the news of the peace of Ryswick came so opportunely as to preserve them from being totally destroyed by the Spaniards, who had already passed the mountains with a body of between five and six hundred men. Histoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv.

It must therefore be allowed, to the honour of this reign and of this administration, that, however they managed the war, they gained by the peace all, and indeed more than could be expected. By the fourth article the French king engages his word and faith not to disturb the King of Great Britain in any of his dominions; not to assist, directly or indirectly, any of the enemies of the said king, nor to give shelter to any rebels or conspirators against him. By the fifth, the free use of commerce or navigation is restored between the subjects of both kings. By the seventh all places taken during the war, either in Europe or in America, are restored. As great care was taken of our allies, every thing was stipulated for them which with any shew of justice they could desire; so that, by the conclusion of this treaty, the general peace of Europe was restored,* and we were left at full liberty to improve the advantages, afforded thereby, for the rectifying whatever was amiss in our domestic economy, extending our commerce, and easing our people. How far these points were studied or neglected, shall be our business to examine in the next chapter.

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* The Gazettes came out in those days on Mondays and Thursdays. This paper, said to be printed by authority, is dated, Whitehall, October 26, which was Tuesday. It is printed but on one side, and the French king's proclamation is in Italic, in order to render it the more remarkable. The same thing had been done on the exchange of the ratifications, October 18, 1697. But that was in the nature of a post-gazette.

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* Amongst other medals, struck on the occasion of this peace, there was one very remarkable. On the face of the medal was represented a temple, the doors of which are shut by the plenipotentiaries. Before the temple there is an altar, on which a sow is offered; alluding to the custom of the Romans, who, on the conclusion of a peace, sacrificed a swine. On the reverse are the arms of the several powers comprehended in the treaty, and in the centre the royal castle of Ryswick, with this inscription, *Ryswick, Gulielmi III. Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniæ regis palatium*, i.e. "The palace of William III. by the grace of God king of Great Britain." Gerard Van Loon Hist. Metallique des Pays Bas, tome iv.

CHAP. XIX.

The Naval History of Great Britain, continued through the remaining part of the Reign of King William III. comprehending the most remarkable Transactions in relation to our Commerce and Plantations, with the Memoirs of such eminent Seamen as flourished in this period of time.

THE affair of the East India Company in Scotland has been mentioned in the former chapter; but I did not insist upon it then, because it would have interrupted the thread of our history, and because I apprehended it would come in more naturally here. It is certainly, even at this distance of time, a very delicate subject, especially for one who professes to follow truth in defiance of all parties and characters whatever. But the pleasure which results from acting fairly in matters of this nature, is a sufficient compensation for any risk that a writer can run by his impartiality; and therefore I shall lay, without reserve, the true state of this matter before the reader, as it appears to me.

The revolution brought back to Scotland several worthy patriots, whom the jealousy of former reigns had driven into Holland, Germany, and other countries. These, from the time of their return, thought of nothing so much as the putting the trade of Scotland, which had been hitherto in a manner totally neglected, on a proper footing. With this view they procured, in 1693, an act of parliament, that is, of the parliament of Scotland, for the encouragement of foreign commerce, and, in consequence of that law, procured another in 1695, for setting up an East India Company. When this was done, it was found requisite to take in subscriptions: and as it was not easy to find money enough in Scotland for the carrying on so expensive a design, the company's agents endeavoured to procure subscriptions abroad, particularly at London, Hamburgh, and Amsterdam, in which they were certainly sufficiently supported both by the royal and legislative authority.

But as the carrying this scheme into execution gave great umbrage to the East India Companies in England and Holland, they took, as it was very natural for them to do, the best measures they could to hinder the success of these applications. This, however, had some very untoward consequences, since these companies could effect nothing but by the interposition of their respective governments; and by this means his Majesty's name, as king of England, and Stadtholder of Holland, came to be made use of, to thwart those designs which actually had his sanction as king of Scotland. This as might have been easily foreseen, embarrassed King William prodigiously; for it forced him to act in a manner little suitable to his inclinations, since, on an application of the Scots, he was obliged to promise that he would not countenance any such attempts to their prejudice; and, to gratify the English and Dutch, he found himself obliged to part with two very useful and able ministers, the Marquis of Tweedale and Secretary Johnston, because the former had given the royal assent to the law which established the Scots East India Company, in which, however, he had only followed his instructions; and the latter for promoting the design, which, no doubt, he took to be, what it really was, an act of duty to his country. Yet these steps served only to palliate things for the present, and, instead of healing the breach, widened it, as will be seen hereafter.

In the ensuing session of parliament, in 1698, the government found itself not a little embarrassed with the affairs of the English East India Company. A scheme had been offered for erecting a new Company, which was to advance two millions for the public service at eight *per cent.* and they were to carry on this trade by a joint stock. To make way for this, it was proposed to dissolve the old company, though they had very lately a new charter granted them upon an address from the House of Commons, and, in virtue of that charter, had increased their capital by a subscription of so considerable a sum as seven hundred thousand pounds. The pretence for dissolving it was, a clause in that very charter, reserving such a power to the crown. But as it was not so much as asserted, that, since the granting this new charter, they had done any thing which ought to subject them to a dissolution, by moderate and impartial people, who knew nothing of stock-jobbing, this was thought not a little hard.

The real cause why this step for erecting a new company was taken, as Bishop Burnet and other intelligent writers fairly own, was the public's wanting and having no way so ready to get, money. However, the dissolving scheme, notwithstanding it was powerfully supported, did not take place; the new company had large privileges given them, and Sir William Norris was sent, by his Majesty, ambassador to the Great Mogul, on purpose to promote this scheme; which, notwithstanding, miscarried in respect to trade: for the old company, being possessed of the forts and factories in the East Indies, took care to prepossess that monarch, and indeed all the other princes in those parts, so strongly against the new company, that the ambassador was but very indifferently received, and the whole affair, instead of improving our commerce, tended only to hurt both it and the credit of the nation in those parts, at the same time that the acts for establishing this new company, created very great discontents at home.*

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* Bishop Burnet, in his History of his own Times, has treated this subject very fairly, and, as far as I can judge, set this matter

The managers of the East India Company in Scotland, finding their designs for carrying on that trade so vigorously opposed, and having, as they conceived, very large powers vested in them by the late act of parliament, resolved to turn their endeavours another way for the present, and to attempt the settlement of a colony in America, on the Isthmus of Darien. Every body knows, that this is a very narrow tract of country, which unites the two great continents of North and South America, and that consequently it must be very advantageously seated for commerce. As the inhabitants had never been conquered by the Spaniards, and as the new colony sent thither actually purchased their lands from the native proprietors, and settled there by consent, it was apprehended that the Spaniards had no right to dispute this establishment; and that, if they did, the planters might defend themselves without involving the nation in a war.

The colony was accordingly settled at a vast expence; but it was soon found, that great mistakes had been made in relation to the consequences expected from it. For the Spaniards not only considered it as an invasion on their rights, and began to take our ships upon it; but the English also grew very uneasy, and made warm representations to his Majesty on this subject, which produced private orders to the governors of Jamaica, and other neighbouring plantations, not only to avoid all commerce with the Scots at Darien, but even to deny them provisions. As it was foreseen that these measures would naturally occasion great disturbances in that part of the world, it was found requisite to send a

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in a true light. It is a great misfortune, that we have not any HISTORY of public companies, which would be both a useful and entertaining work. What I have offered is very succinct, as the nature of this history obliged me to make it. To give the reader an accurate account of this business would take up some sheets, and indeed the business deserves it.

squadron thither to protect our trade, to awe the Spaniards, and to hinder the increase of pirates, which had been very great ever since the conclusion of the peace, occasioned chiefly by the multitude of privateers that were then thrown out of employment; and having been long used to live by plunder, had not either the will or the means to procure a subsistence for themselves by any honest employment. There were also some other reasons which made the sending such a naval force requisite, as will appear in the subsequent account of its proceedings.

Rear-admiral Benbow was made choice of to command this squadron, which consisted of three fourth rates, and a small French prize. He sailed from Portsmouth on the twenty-ninth of November, 1698, and arrived at Barbadoes the twenty-seventh of February following. He executed there, and at the Leeward Islands, what he was directed by his instructions to do, and being informed that the Spaniards at Carthagena had seized two of our ships, with an intent to employ them in an expedition they were then meditating against the Scots at Darien, he, like a brave and public-spirited commander, as he really was, resolved to prevent it, and restore these ships to their right owners. With this view he stood over to the Spanish coast, and coming before Boca-Chica castle, he sent his men on shore for wood and water, which though he asked with great civility of the Spanish governor, he would scarcely permit him to take.*

This highly nettled the admiral, who thereupon sent his own lieutenant to the governor, with a message, importing, that he not only wanted these necessaries, but that he came likewise for two English ships that lay in the harbour, and had been detained there some time, which, if not sent to him immediately, he would come and take by force. The governor answered him, in very respectful terms, that if he would leave his present station, in which he seemed to block up their port, the ships should be sent out to him. With this request the admiral, without the least hesitation, complied; but finding that the governor trifled with him, and that his men were in danger of falling into the country distemper, which doubtless the Spanish governor foresaw, he sent him another message, that if in twenty-four hours the ships were not sent him, he would come and fetch them, and that, if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an opportunity of seeing what respect an English officer had to his word. The Spaniards, however, did not think fit to make the experiment, but sent out the ships within the time; with which the admiral returned to Jamaica, where he was received with much kindness and respect.

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* London Gazette, No. 3450. Most people thought this squadron too small, too weakly manned, and sent too late in the year; and many reflections to this purpose were thrown out in pamphlets, to disturb the minds of the people, and alienate the affections of the seamen. But Rear-admiral Benbow's conduct was irreproachable, and, though he was a downright sailor, his manner of acting was so engaging, that he not only performed more than was expected, but returned with ample commendations from all our colonies.

There he received an account, that the Spaniards at Porto-Bello had seized several of our ships employed in the slave-trade, on the old pretence, that the settlement at Darien was a breach of the peace. At the desire of the parties concerned, the admiral sailed thither also, and demanded these ships; but received a surly answer from the admiral of the Barlovento-fleet, who happened to be then at Porto-Bello. Rear-admiral Benbow expostulated with him on this head, insisting, that, as the subjects of the crown of England had never injured those of his Catholic Majesty, he ought not to make prize of their ships for injuries done by another nation. The Spaniards replied shrewdly, that since both the crowns were placed on the same head, it was no wonder he mistook the subjects of one crown for the other. After many altercations, however, and when the Spaniards saw that the colony of Darien received no assistance from Jamaica, the ships were restored. The admiral, in the mean time, sailed in quest of a person named Kidd, a pirate, who had done a great deal of mischief in the East and West Indies, and of whom we shall have hereafter occasion to speak more largely. On his return to Jamaica, towards the latter end of the year, he received a supply of provisions from England, and, soon after, orders to return home; which he did with six men of war, taking New England in his way.

While Rear-admiral Benbow was thus employed, Vice-admiral Aylmer was sent with a strong squadron into the Mediterranean, in order to confirm our treaties with the governments of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which he performed very effectually; for, being a man of a generous temper, he executed all things with such magnificence, and treated the deputies sent on board him in a manner so well suited to their tempers, that they were easily drawn to do those things for him, which an officer of another disposition would never have obtained.*

It was intended, too, that he should have secured the galleons, in case the French attempted to seize them on the death of the king of Spain, which was daily apprehended; but for this he certainly came too late, and though no body pretended to fix any imputation on his character in this respect, yet there was great blame laid on the board of admiralty, for not fitting out this fleet sooner. This, among many other things, made up part of the charge brought against the management of the navy by the House of

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* London Gazette, 3427. This fleet sailed from Portsmouth, September 13, 1698. But Mr. Burchet's account is so indistinct, that Mr. Lediard, in transcribing it, thought this fleet was fitted out in 1700, and under that year has placed it in his Naval History. I am the more surprised at this, because he takes notice of the Commons address in 1699, which actually took its rise from an inquiry into the late fitting out of this squadron.

Commons, in their address to the king, presented in the month of April, 1699; wherein, after taking notice of the late sending of this fleet, they add, "That the victualling any of his Majesty's ships by others than by the victuallers appointed for that service, or their agents, was contrary to the course of the navy, and might be of ill consequence. That many and new unnecessary charges had, in an extraordinary manner, been introduced into the navy, which was a great mismanagement. That the deductions of poundage, taken by the pay-masters of the navy, for slop-cloths, dead-men's wages, tobacco, chest at Chatham, chaplain, and surgeon, was without warrant, and ought to be accounted for. That it was inconsistent with the service of the navy, for the same person to be one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral and treasurer of the navy at the same time. And that the passing of any account of monies impressed for the contingent uses of the navy, without regular vouchers, or such other proofs as the nature of the service would admit, either with or without a sign manual, was contrary to the rules and methods of the navy, and of dangerous consequence. All which they begged leave to lay before his Majesty, desiring that he would be graciously pleased to take effectual care, that the mismanagements herein complained of might be prevented for the future." The king gave a soft answer, which yet was satisfactory enough to this charge. It ran in these words: "Gentlemen, I will consider of your address. It is my desire that all sorts of mismanagements and irregularities should be prevented or redressed. You may be assured, that I will take the best care I can in relation to the navy, the right management whereof is of great concern to the kingdom."

The earl of Orford, who was at this time at the head of the navy, and who, as all our writers agree, governed pretty absolutely, on a supposition that bringing over to the court a body of men who had been formerly looked upon as stubborn malecontents, would justify every measure that he should think necessary for so salutary a purpose, saw at what the Commons were driving, and therefore very prudently resolved to abate the edge of their resentment, by laying down his employments, which he did accordingly, and thereupon a new commission of admiralty passed, in which the Earl of Bridgewater. the Lord Haversham, Sir Robert Rich, Sir George Rooke, and Sir David Mitchel, were constituted commissioners. And thus things were twisted about, rather as the interest and influence of parties required, than as was fittest for the public service, which, though always pretended in speeches and addresses, yet this was so visibly a cloak for the pernicious designs of party, that we may safely assert, *private interest* was never more considered than at this time, when nothing was so much talked of as *public spirit* ;* may we live to see things conducted with more sincerity !

We are now come to a necessary part of this history, which will appear one of the strongest instances of the truth of the foregoing observation ; I mean, the affair of Kidd, the pirate, which, by an unaccountable strain of party-resentment, makes a considerable figure in our general histories, and belongs, in a particular manner,, to this ; for which reason I shall treat it circumstantially, and, to the best of my judgment, exactly agreeable to truth :—

There had been for many years loud and very just complaints of piracies in the West Indies, which, for the sake of the profit made by purchasing their ill-gotten goods, had met with too much encouragement from the inhabitants of several of our plantations. This induced King William, in the year 1695, to declare the earl of Bellamont, a nobleman of Ireland, and a person of very great worth and honour, governor of New York and of New England, believing him to be a proper person to restrain such mischiefs, and in time to put an end to the complaints made about them.

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* The earl of Orford was afterwards impeached, as we shall have occasion to shew ; but there was never any proof offered on that impeachment ; and to be sure his lordship's faults were in his ministerial character, and not as a commander. He was very sincere and serviceable to his party, at the head of the admiralty board ; but at sea forgot all distinctions, and had regard to nothing but merit.

After he was raised to this station, and before he set out for his government, he began to inquire as to the most proper methods for extinguishing these abuses, and represented it to one Colonel Levingston, a gentleman of considerable property in New York, as a thing which nearly concerned the honour of that plantation. This induced the colonel to mention to his lordship Captain William Kidd, who was lately arrived from New York in a sloop of his own, as a brave bold fellow, who knew most of the pirates haunts, and might therefore be employed against them with great probability of success. The earl readily approved the scheme, and knowing how much the king had the business at heart, mentioned it to his Majesty, who applauded the design, and recommended it to the board of admiralty. But the public affairs being then in a perplexed situation, and great difficulties found in manning the fleet, the board, though they signified their approbation of the thing, thought fit to lay it aside.*

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* Bishop Burnet and Mr. Oldmixon have both insisted pretty largely on this matter. As to the former, he did not certainly understand it; for he actually took the grant of pirates' goods to be illegal and unjustifiable, and seems to intimate some hastiness or imprudence in this business; whereas nothing can be clearer than that public spirit was the sole motive to this design, and that Kidd's owners became so, because he could not be fitted out otherwise. As to the latter, though very prolix, yet his account wants, in a great measure, the light of evidence, which arises very fully from an impartial stating of the matters of fact, and therefore I have dwelt so long upon it.

Colonel Levingston, having exact information of all that had passed, applied himself a second time to the earl of Bellamont, and offered an amendment to his first project. He observed, that this was a thing which would admit of no delay; and since the public could not immediately bear the expence, or consequently undertake the intended expedition, it might not be amiss if some few persons of distinction should venture on carrying it into execution at their own expence. This, too, was attended with much difficulty; but at last it was agreed, that the lord-chancellor, then Lord Somers, the duke of Shrewsbury, the earl of Romney, the earl of Orford, and some other persons, together with Colonel Levingston and Kidd, who were to have between them a fifth of the whole undertaking, should raise six thousand pounds for the expence of the voyage.

The king was so well pleased with the thing, and thought it of so great consequence as well as of so much benefit to the public, that he likewise promised to contribute, and, therefore, a tenth part of the goods taken from pirates was reserved to his Majesty in the grant made of the rest to the persons engaged in fitting out Kidd. But, when the business was brought to bear, the king could not advance the money conveniently, and so the persons above-mentioned were obliged to be at the whole expence. Captain Kidd had a commission in the common form, to take and seize pirates, and bring them to justice, without any special clause or proviso whatever. He knew none of the adventurers but the Lord Bellamont, who introduced him to the earl of Orford, and another person carried him to the earl of Romney. As for the rest, he never saw them; and so little was there of secrecy or management in this business, that he had no instructions either public or private; only the earl of Bellamont gave him sailing orders, in which he was directed to act according to the letter of his commission.

Thus furnished, Captain William Kidd sailed in the Adventure galley towards the end of the year 1695, for New York, and, in his way, took a French prize. From thence he sailed to Madeira, thence to Bonavista and St. Jago, from whence he proceeded to Madagascar, and from thence he cruized at the entrance of the Red Sea; but, effecting nothing, he sailed to Calicut, and took a ship of one hundred and fifty tons; the master and three or four of the crew were Dutchmen, the rest Moors: this ship he carried to Madagascar; from thence he sailed again, and, about five weeks after, took the Quedah Merchant, of four hundred tons; the master was one Wright, an Englishman: she had on board two Dutch mates, and a French gunner; the crew were Moors, in all about ninety persons.

The ship he carried to St. Mary's near Madagascar, and there he shared the goods with his crew, taking forty shares to his own use. Here ninety of his crew, who were a hundred and fifty-one in all, left him, and went on board the Mocha Merchant, an East India Company ship, which had turned pirate; and there was every grain as much reason to charge that company with the piracies the Mocha Merchant's crew committed, as there was to charge Kidd's adventurers with his. He and his men burnt his own ship the Adventure galley at St. Mary's, and they all went on board the Quedah Merchant, and sailed for the West Indies. Being denied succour at Anguilla and St. Thomas's, he sailed to Mona, lying between Porto-Rico and Hispaniola, and there, by the means of one Bolton, got some provisions from Curacoa. He bought a sloop of Bolton, in which he loaded part of his goods, and left the Quedah Merchant, with the rest of the goods, in trust with Bolton, and seventeen or eighteen men in her. In this sloop he touched at several places, and disposed of a great part of his goods, and at last came to Boston in New England, where the earl of Bellamont seized him and what goods he had left; for this fellow either had, or pretended to have, a notion that the Quedah Merchant, being manned by Moors, was a lawful prize, though there was no proof that the commander of her and his crew had committed any piracies on the English or any other European, or indeed Indian nation.

As soon as this was done, his lordship sent advice, of his taking Kidd, to England, and desired that a ship might be sent to bring him home. This was accordingly complied with; but the Rochester, which was the ship employed in this service, being disabled, was forced to return, which heightened the clamour that had been already raised about this transaction, and which was outrageous in the very same proportion that it was groundless.

The source of this clamour was undoubtedly a private pique to particular persons, which induced some warm men to put a question in the House of Commons, "That the letters-patent, granted to the earl of Bellamont and others, of pirates' goods, were dishonourable to the king, against the law of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, an invasion of property, and destructive to commerce." This was carried in the negative, but it did not hinder those who supported the question from charging Lord Somers and the earl of Orford with countenancing pirates; and to give some colour to this groundless and most improbable charge, as soon as it was known that the Rochester was returned, it was suggested that the sending that ship was mere collusion; that the earl of Bellamont was as deep in this affair as the rest; and upon this a motion was made, and carried in the House of Commons, for an address to his Majesty, that Kidd might not be tried till the next session of parliament, and that the earl of Bellamont might be directed to send home all examinations and other papers relating to this business, which the king promised very readily.

This affair must naturally give his Majesty, and indeed the whole world, a strange opinion of the patriotism of those times. He knew the whole matter better than any body, and was pleased to say, with great truth and justice, that, if he might be admitted as a witness, he could vindicate, from his own knowledge, the noble persons now attacked, in all they had done. He must, therefore, be thoroughly persuaded, that this was a very unjust and iniquitous prosecution, in relation to which, he had reason to think himself happy, that he was not able to perform his promise of contributing towards this design, since that might have given a handle to some warm member for calling him *pirate*, as Mr. Howe actually called him a *felon*, for making the treaty of partition, to which we shall speedily come.

But, how clear soever the king and other impartial judges might be, this spirit was still so prevalent in the House of Commons, that, even after making some inquiries into this fact, and having not only his examination, but Kidd himself in their power, whom they ordered to be brought to their bar, and questioned him there, very little to their credit or to the purpose, yet, when they afterwards found an opportunity of attacking the earl of Orford and Lord Somers by impeachments, they did not fail to throw in their encouragement of Kidd as part of the charge.* In the articles against the earl of Orford, they make the fifth and sixth, which, for the satisfaction of the reader, I shall throw into the notes, to shew with how great solemnity the most trifling affair may be made to appear.*

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* It was pretended that Kidd would make discoveries, and upon this he was sent for to the bar of the House of Commons, where he behaved very meanly: and Sir Edward Seymour, who sent for him, said, "The fellow was not more a knave than a fool." But the true intent of bringing him thither was, to set up another discovery, *viz.* That, before he returned to Newgate, he went to the house of the earl of Halifax, and conferred there with the lords who were said to be concerned with him; but of this the proof was as weak as the story incredible.

The earl of Orford's answer will sufficiently declare how little foundation there was in fact for what the commons advanced, and, therefore, I shall give what he offers, as to these two articles, in his own words: "As to the fifth article," says his lordship, "the East India Company, about the beginning of March, 1696, did apply to the admiralty-board, of which the said earl was one, to empower their ships and officers to seize and take all pirates infesting the seas within the limits of their charter, and likewise to erect a court of admiralty in those parts, to try and condemn such pirates as they should take. Upon which application, the board of admiralty did take advice, and were informed they had no authority to grant the same, and denies he, the said earl, ever discouraged or rejected the Company's request therein, unless it were by telling them, that the admiralty by law, could not grant the same; and denies that the Company was ever denied letters of marque in common form, to the knowledge of the said earl: and saith, as to the matter of Kidd in this article mentioned, he was gone upon his expedition about twelve months before that time; and as to his commission, and the grant in the said article mentioned, the said earl humbly conceives, and is advised, the same were not contrary to law, but sure he is the said expedition was intended for the public good and service; and saith, the said Kidd had no powers or instructions from the board of admiralty, other than the ordinary and common letters of marque, the contents whereof are common and well known to merchants; and the said earl doth deny that he knew the said Kidd to be of ill fame and reputation. But, in case the said Kidd had committed any piracies, he the said Kidd is answerable, and ought to answer for the same, he never being ordered by the said earl so to do, nor had he ever any the least encouragement given him by the said earl, or any other, to his knowledge, to expect or hope for any protection therein, or in any illegal action done or committed by him."

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* "V. And whereas complaints were made to the commissioners for executing the office of lord-high admiral of England; where the said earl at that time presided, by the company trading to the East Indies, of divers piracies committed in the South Seas to the destruction of their trade, desiring they might have letters of marque granted to them, whereby to be empowered, though at their own charge, to suppress such piracies: but the said earl, preferring his own interest, discouraged and rejected their request and proposal, and in some short time after, jointly with others, did procure a commission for one William Kidd, as likewise a grant under the great seal of England, to and for the use of him the said earl and others, of the ships and goods of certain persons therein named, and also of all the goods found on board the said ships. And the said company having intimation of a commission granted to the said Kidd, being apprehensive of the ill consequences of the same, did apply themselves to the said board of admiralty, desiring to know what powers and instructions were given: but such their reasonable request was denied, and Kidd, who was known to be a person of ill fame and reputation, ordered to pursue the intended voyage, in which he did commit divers piracies and depredations on the high seas, being thereto encouraged through the hopes of being protected by the high station and interest of the said earl, in violation of the laws of nations, and the interruption and discouragement of the trade in England.

"VI. That the said earl, within the time aforesaid, when an horrid conspiracy was discovered against his Majesty's sacred person, and the kingdom was under an apprehension of an immediate invasion from France, and divers ships of war, particularly the ship Duchess, were armed out, and equipped and manned in defence of the realm, to oppose the intended invasion, did his utmost endeavour to prejudice his office, being the first commissioner for executing the office of lord-high admiral of England, without the privity of the other commissioners, contrary to his oath and duty, and preferring his hopes of gain to himself to the safety of the public, did order Captain Steward, commander of the ship Duchess, to deliver over, and put on board, the said Kidd, mentioned in the foregoing article, out of the said ship the Duchess, a great number of able seamen, levied and provided at the expence of the public, and then discharging their duty in defence of their country, and against their own consent, to the prejudice of the public security, and to the endangering the said ship the Duchess, if it had been attacked by the enemy."

But his lordship's answer to the latter article is still stronger. In that he says, "He believes it to be true, that there was a horrid and barbarous plot and conspiracy against his Majesty's sacred person, and that there was an apprehension of an immediate invasion. But the said earl hopes, no neglect of duty in his station can be imputed to him to prevent the same. And as for the ship Duchess, which was amongst many others, armed and equipped in defence of the realm, the said earl saith, that the men, in the said article mentioned to be taken from on board her, were but some of the very persons that were just before taken from on board Captain Kidd, and returned by their own consent on board Captain Kidd again, not being above twenty in number; and saith, all fears of the invasion were then over, and at an end; and denies that the same was intended to weaken, or did weaken, the said ship, or the navy-royal, or that the said seamen, so returning on board the said Kidd, were levied or provided at the expence of the public, or did return, or were put on board the said Kidd against their own consent, or to the prejudice of the public security, or that the ship Duchess was thereby endangered, if she had been attacked, as in the said article is alleged."

These articles were agreed to by the House of Commons on the 8th of May, 1701, the very day that Kidd was brought upon his trial for piracy at the Old Bailey, where he was convicted, with many of his companions, and soon after executed; but could never be prevailed upon, as weak and as bad a man as he was, to charge any of the noble persons, who were his owners, with having any thing to do with his proceedings. Yet, even after his death, the Commons, in an impeachment by them preferred against John Lord Somers, charge him as lord-keeper of the great seal of England, in conjunction with the earl of Orford, first commissioner of the admiralty, and Richard earl of Bellamont, governor of New

York and of New England, and of others then in great stations, and in high power and authority, for sealing a commission to one William Kidd, a person of evil fame and reputation, since convicted of piracy, and with procuring a grant of pirates' goods to be taken by the said William Kidd, under colour of the said commission, in trust for himself and other persons, with abundance more to the same purpose, intended purely to hurt that lord's character, and render it impossible for his Majesty to employ him longer in his service; though his lordship, conscious of his own innocence, took every measure possible to have this matter brought to a fair, open, and speedy trial.

But while things were thus carried on at home, the nation suffered exceedingly for want of due care being taken to put an end to those depredations committed by pirates abroad, and, therefore, several experienced officers were sent to Madagascar, where they had made a very strong settlement, in order to root out and destroy them; but with so little success, that the government began at last to despair of effecting any thing in this way, till Mr. Secretary Burchet, and I speak it to his honour, devised a method which answered the end very speedily. This was, sending a proclamation by Captain James Littleton, who was afterwards a flag-officer, and commissioner of the navy, promising pardon to all the pirates who surrendered, and a reward in case they would secure and deliver up any of their commanders. This soon brought in many of the private men, and made the rest, especially their chiefs, so jealous of each other, that they could not hold together, or venture upon any new enterprises: so that Captain Littleton, having brought off some, and separated the rest, very soon destroyed such as were most refractory, and re-established that free navigation which had been so long interrupted in those parts. I know that this will seem to some a very trivial affair to be so long insisted on; but as it shews the spirit of those times, and accounts for a very famous persecution, I hope the majority of those who peruse this work, will not think it impertinent, especially as it has some connection throughout with the subject of this book.

But we now return to matters of a more public concern. A war had arisen between the kings of Denmark and Sweden, which greatly affected the peace of the north; a thing that can never happen without interesting the maritime powers. It will be necessary to say something as to the grounds of this war, because the part we took in it was very much to the honour of the English nation, and ought to establish it as a maxim, that whenever it is really necessary to assist our allies, we ought to do it vigorously, and at once; which is the way not only to serve them, but to save a very considerable expence to us. There was, towards the close of the year 1699, a private treaty made by several princes for attacking the king of Sweden, afterwards the famous Charles the Twelfth, but then a perfect youth, and even for dismembering the Swedish monarchy. According to this scheme, the king of Denmark was to invade Holstein, the elector of Brandenbourg was to fall into the Swedish Pomerania, the king of Poland was to attack Livonia, and in case the dukes of Zell and Hanover moved to the assistance of the Swedes, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle, were to fall upon them.

This was an alliance founded intirely upon interest and ambition, for the Swedes had done nothing to deserve this treatment; and therefore, upon the first breaking out of this confederacy, his Swedish Majesty addressed himself to King William and the States-General, as guarantees of the treaties made for securing the tranquillity of the north, by preserving there a proper balance of power. At first it was thought requisite to interpose only our good offices.

But when the king of Denmark over-ran Holstein, and the king of Poland first attempted to surprise, and then besieged Riga in Livonia, it became necessary to take other measures, especially when it was known that the Czar was inclined to enter into the confederacy. The point in debate with his Majesty was, whether he should do what was necessary, and what he was obliged to by treaties, without consulting the House of Commons; or whether he should lay the whole matter before the parliament, and leave the decision of it to them. Some of the ministry were for taking the latter method, but the king was for the former, and with good reason; he said, the executive part of the government was in him, and therefore he would do what was fit for him to do, and acquaint the parliament with it at their next meeting.

His Majesty, in the spring of the year 1700, sent over a strong squadron to Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who, in the latter end of May, was joined by a Dutch squadron; and, having the command of the whole fleet, he sailed for the Sound, where he arrived about the middle of June. There he found the Danish fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail of line-of-battle ships, ranged athwart the narrow passage, under the guns of their castle of Cronenburgh, opposite to Helsingburg; and here also he received assurance from Count Wutchtmeister, admiral-general of Sweden, that he would take the first opportunity of joining him with the squadron under his command. Not long after, a signal was made, as had been agreed, from Helsingburg, that the Danish fleet were under sail; whereupon our admiral weighed anchor, and advanced into the Sound, to prevent any mischief which might otherwise happen to the Swedes. But the Danish ships anchored again on this side of the grounds, not only to guard the passage, but to prevent our joining with the Swedish squadron, which were now come down to the south-side of that channel.

In this posture the fleets lay for some time, Sir George Rooke expecting that the Swedes would, according to what had been promised, have pushed through; which in all probability they might have done in less than two hours, for it had blown fresh at S. S. E. But the opportunity being lost, he got under sail, and came nearer to the island of Huen. Meanwhile the Danes plyed towards him in a line of battle, but anchored about noon nearly three leagues off, in the mouth of the channel leading up to Copenhagen, and the Swedes were much about the same distance on the other side of the grounds. The Danes then endeavoured to amuse the admiral with an account of a treaty, in hopes that, while it was negociating, he would suspend hostilities; but he pursued the spirit of his instructions, which required him to promote not a negociation, but a peace; and therefore, being informed that the Swedish fleet had passed the channel of Flinterena on the third of July, he sailed the next day, and anchoring off Landscroon, the Swedish fleet joined him on the sixth; upon which the Danes retired into their harbour, where they were very well secured; and though the united fleets pretended to bombard them in the port of Copenhagen, yet either they could not, or would not, do them much mischief.

The confederate fleet consisted of fifty-two ships of the line; but as so great a strength was not necessary to keep in the Danes, part was detached for other purposes; for there were sent to Gottenburg a fourth and a fifth rate of the English, and three ships of the States-General, to cover the forces which the king of Sweden intended to transport to Tonningen, on the river of Eyder, and three English, with six Swedish, together with three Dutch ships, were ordered into the south channel going into Copenhagen, with the bomb-vessels, from whence they bombarded the Danish fleet some hours, but not with much greater success than before; nor did those on our side receive any damage from their shells, or the shot from the town, the ships and the puntoons. Preparations were now making for a vigorous descent in Roge-bay, and between Copenhagen and Elsinore at the same time; but the winds being contrary, those troops which embarked at Udstedt, being chiefly horse, could not get over to the bay before-mentioned, as was intended, so that they were put on shore, and ordered to Landscroon and Helsingburg, to be transported from thence; and the latter end of July, the king of Sweden landed with about five thousand foot, near four miles on this side Elsinore, without any great loss, although the Danes had brought down a body of horse and foot, and three or four field-pieces, to oppose them.

This quick motion was intended to accelerate the negociations that were then carrying on, and it had the desired effect; for the Danes, excessively alarmed at so unexpected a proceeding, sent orders to their plenipotentiaries at Travendale to sign the preliminaries on the terms proposed by the mediators; and this being signified to Sir George Rooke, he refused to let the combined fleet cover any longer the descent of the Swedes, there being enough already done to secure a peace, which was signed on the eighteenth of August, 1700, and left the king of Sweden at liberty to act against the Czar and the king of Poland, who had both invaded his dominions in this critical juncture.

This whole transaction was extremely honourable, and at the same time very advantageous to the maritime powers, who cannot, as I observed, be at any time, consistent with their interests, tame spectators of a war in the north. If they had not assisted the Swedes, who were then the weakest, the Danes would have drawn the negociation into a great length, while their allies were distressing the king of Sweden in different parts of his dominions; and, on the other hand, if the combined fleets had acted as vigorously as the king of Sweden would have had them, the island of Zealand must have been reduced, and perhaps the city of Copenhagen taken, which would have inclined the balance too much the other way. This was the true reason that the bombardment had so little effect, and Sir George did not affect to conceal it: for when King Charles complained to him, that the English bombs flew over, and the Dutch fell short of the Danish fleet, and that he wondered the maritime powers sent so great a strength to do nothing; Admiral Rooke answered him very calmly, "Sir, I was sent hither to serve your Majesty, but not to ruin the king of Denmark." "Why then," replied the King, smiling, "you have certainly executed your commission, and have made such a war as will make a peace."

When the business was done, the combined fleets returned, and the States-General were so sensible of the prudent management of the English admiral, that they thanked his Majesty for having intrusted him with the commission. I cannot help observing upon this occasion, that when Sir George Rooke, was so unlucky as to labour under the displeasure of a powerful party in England, he was known and acknowledged in Holland to be the best officer, and the greatest seaman of the age. This, perhaps, was the reason, that, notwithstanding the difference of parties, King William always preserved a good opinion of this gentleman, and employed him as long as he lived in the most important commands.

In Scotland things ran very high on the old subject of complaint; *viz.* the ruin of the Darien colony. Things were printed on both sides on purpose to inflame the minds of the people, and many thought that it would at last have created a breach between the two nations. The coldness of the king's temper prevented this; he could not either be heated by the English representations, or blown into a passion by the hasty resolutions of the Scots parliament; and his moderation towards each of them, if it did not bring them both to a good temper, which was indeed never effected in his reign, yet it gave him an opportunity to keep the wisest people in England and in Scotland firm to his government, while, in the mean time, many unforeseen accidents brought about the ruin of the Scots company; so that the ends of their English adversaries were answered, without their having recourse to any harsh means; for after Captain Drummond ran away with the Rising Sun, and engaged in some exploits which had too much the air of piracy, it was found impracticable to restore the affairs of the company, though the matter hung in suspence, and the fire of dissension lay raked up under the embers as long as King William lived, and had nearly blazed out in the reign of his successor; as will be hereafter shewn in its proper place.

We are now to return to affairs nearer home. The death of the king of Spain changed all the affairs of Europe, and forced us, who had so lately made a very necessary peace, upon a new, expensive, and dangerous war, contrary to the genius, at least, if not, as the patriots of those times asserted, to the interest of the nation.* It is certain that the King did

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* In order to be sensible of this, we need only cast our eyes on the following passage of my Lord Somers's letter to King William, dated from Tunbridge-wells, August 28, 1698, in answer to one written by the King in relation to the first treaty of partition.

"The second thing considered was the very ill prospect of what was likely to happen upon the death of the king of Spain, in case nothing was done previously in providing against that accident, which seemed probably to be very near, the king of France having so great a force in such a readiness, that he was in a condition to take possession of Spain, before any other prince could be able to make a stand. Your Majesty is the best judge whether this be the case, who are so perfectly informed of the circumstances of parts abroad.

"But, so far as relates to England, it would be want of duty not to give your Majesty this clear account: That there is a deadness and want of spirit in the nation universally, so as not at all to be disposed to the thought of entering into a new war; that they all he could to avoid it, and that this was the great, if not the sole foundation of the two famous partition treaties, which were so much exclaimed against by those, whose steady opposition to a war had first brought the king and his ministry to think of them.

It has been much disputed, whether the French king or the confederates meant least to keep these treaties when they were made; but it so falling out, that the French king had a fairer opportunity of breaking the last than the confederate princes, this furnished them with an opportunity of charging him with breach of faith, and forging the king of Spain's will, which, however, were things believed by such only, as knew little of the matter, since there never was a state-resolution taken with better advice, and more deliberation, than that of King Charles the Second's, calling the duke of Anjou, afterwards King Philip V. to the succession.

It has been also said, that the proclaiming the prince of Wales on the death of King James II. by the French king was one of the causes of the war; and whoever looks upon the public acts of those times, I mean declarations, addresses, votes, &c. will think the fact certain. Yet I am pretty confident it was quite otherwise, since King William signed the grand alliance at the Hague a week before King James died. But this pretence of the French king's breach of treaty and of his word was very plausible, and therefore it was very prudent to lay so great stress upon it, because it served to raise the resentments of the nation, and to excite that spirit that was wanting, and which much better motives never would have raised.*

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seemed to be tired out with taxes, to a degree beyond what was discerned, till it appeared upon the occasion of the late elections. This is the truth of the fact, upon which your Majesty will determine what resolutions are proper to be taken."

* The citation in the last note sufficiently shews the king's sentiments, and those of his minister, upon this subject; and therefore, as I write at such a distance of time, when truth must be

I would by no means be understood to censure this war as unreasonable or unjust; in doing this I should quit my character as an historian, and at the same time write contrary to my opinion. All I aim at is, to distinguish grounds from pretences, and to justify King William's measures in this respect from their true motives, rather than from those which were used only to colour them in compliance with the nation's temper at that time. The king, who was a very wise man, and a consummate politician, saw plainly, that the Spanish succession, if it fell entirely into the hands of the house of Bourbon, would leave it absolutely in the power of that house to give law to the rest of Europe, and to destroy that independency so necessary to Great Britain and Holland, which yet results from the balance that had hitherto been kept between that family and the House of Austria. He saw, too, that the sense which other powers had of their particular grievances and immediate danger from the power of the French king, afforded the means of combining such a force as might be able to bring that monarch to reason, and to consent to such an establishment as would leave things in their former state, and secure the several potentates of Europe in the possession of their just rights.

serviceable, and can do no hurt, I think I have a right to speak plainly, otherwise I should not have exercised it. As to the addresses from all parts of England, in which the French king's character is very roughly treated on account of his proclaiming a person whom some call prince of Wales, and others an impostor, I can only say, that it was politically right at that time to encourage them. But as to the perfidiousness of the French king, it is not so clear in this case, because he knew at the time, King William had negociated a new grand alliance, and consequently stood to him in the light of his capital enemy. The excuse, indeed, he made for proclaiming the son of King James was trifling and disingenuous. He said it was no breach of the treaty of Ryswick, because he gave him the titles only of king of England, &c. but did not assist him to recover them. On the other hand, King William wrote a letter to the new king of Spain, to felicitate him on his accession, though he never intended to own him. These are acts of policy, not of perfidy.

This induced him to engage reciprocally Papists and Protestants to support each other's pretensions; for, by the grand alliance, Great Britain and the States undertook to procure satisfaction to the Pope, as, on the other hand, the emperor and other Catholic princes stipulated to support the Protestant interest, and maintain the rights of the maritime powers in respect to their commerce. This it was that made the whole a common cause; and, though these articles exposed the alliance to very popular objections amongst party men at home and abroad, yet to persons of judgment and sagacity, of clear heads and candid hearts, nothing could recommend it more. In all confederacies the good of the whole must be regarded, and to this the particular views of all the separate princes and powers who compose it must give way; and therefore if, considering things in this light, the general alliance formed against France in 1701, was right and well founded, all the cavils, raised against it from the party-spirit that prevailed here, were equally frivolous and unjust.*

When the resolution was once taken to have recourse again to arms in order to preserve the balance of power, the first care was for the fleet, which his Majesty resolved should be much superior to that of the enemy, his Majesty being extremely sensible of the ill consequences that attended the want of this salutary precaution at the beginning of the last war. Preparatory to this was the new commission of the admiralty in the spring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the earl of Pembroke, a man universally beloved and esteemed.

The command of the fleet was very judiciously bestowed upon Sir George Rooke, who on the second of July, went on board the Triumph in the Downs, where he hoisted the flag. He soon after sailed to Spithead, where he was speedily joined by the rest of the fleet, consisting of forty-eight ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships and small vessels. He had under him some of the greatest seamen of the age; *viz.* Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Sir Thomas Hopson, John Benbow, Esq. and Sir John Munden: he was, not long after, reinforced by fifteen Dutch men of war of the line, besides frigates and small vessels, under the command of Lieutenant-Admiral Allemonde, Vice-admiral Vandergoes, and Rear-admiral Waessenaar.

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* This is the substance of all the State Tracts that were written in those times, and which served, as they generally do, only to puzzle and confound people; whereas we, being now out of the reach of their influence, see things as they were, and are able to crowd the substance of many pamphlets into a single paragraph.

The whole fleet was obliged to wait at St. Helen's until the middle of August for want of provisions; and when he put to sea, the wind blew in a few hours so high, that he was constrained to put back again into Torbay. Towards the latter end of the month, he sailed from thence, and on the second of September he detached Vice-admiral Benbow with a stout squadron for the West Indies: and as this was the principal business of the fleet, and indeed a thing in itself of the highest importance, the admiral detached a strong squadron of English ships under the command of Sir John Munden, and ten sail of Dutch men of war, besides frigates, under Rear-admiral Waessenaar, to see the West India squadron well into the sea. The French expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the Mediterranean, and it was to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free use of the Spanish harbours; but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of sending a squadron early to the West Indies, without putting it in the power of the French to procure any exact account of its strength: the admiral, after performing this, cruised according to his instructions for some time, and then returned with the largest ships into the Downs.*

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* Some of these people seem to find fault with Sir George Rooke on account of his doing little while he was at sea with so great a

After this fleet was sent to sea, his Majesty, on the 18th of January, thought proper to revoke his letters-patent to the commissioners of the admiralty, and to appoint the right honourable Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, and of the foreign plantations. The design of this promotion was to be rid of the disadvantages attending a board: and this end it answered perfectly; for his lordship immediately sent away Captain Edmund Loades to Cadiz to bring home the sea stores, and the merchants' effects before the war broke out, as also two hulks that had been left in that harbour, from the time of the last war, for the greater conveniency of careening our ships which remained in that port. This the captain, with his small squadron, consisting but of three frigates, effectually performed.

His lordship also took the like care of our trade in all other parts, and, by his extraordinary prudence, remarkable patience, and being very easy of access, gave much more satisfaction to the merchants and to the officers of the fleet, than any of the boards of admiralty, since they were first introduced, had ever done. Indeed his lordship's merit and success in this arduous employment, was so conspicuous and so universally acknowledged, that it is not easy to understand upon what principles the management of the fleet was changed in the ensuing year, except that it might be thought necessary to raise Prince George of Denmark to that dignity, that he might appear to have had a principal concern in advising and managing affairs; which, however, was in this respect but very little to his royal highness's advantage, as will be

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fleet. But the merit of this admiral was, that he always knew, and did, what was to be done. This was a fleet of amusement, the war was not declared, and, therefore, the longer Sir George could keep the French and their allies in suspence, the greater service he did; though, without this key, hasty people might mistake the thing, and believe he did no service at all.

shewn in our account of transactions under the next reign.*

The war was now the great object of our councils as well as those of France, though hitherto it was not declared, and negociations were still carried on in Holland, as if both parties had inclined to an amicable determination of these differences, which was, however, the intention of neither. The expectation of a rupture made our sea officers exceedingly alert, and put them upon shewing their zeal sometimes a little too much. For instance, the marquis of Caermarthen's yacht fired upon a French ship in the harbour of Rotterdam, to oblige her to strike, which she did immediately. The commander of the yacht not satisfied with this, sent for the master of the French vessel on board, and obliged him to pay twelve livres for the shot. This was complained of by Count D'Avaux, the French minister in very high terms; and it is very probable, that the States would have expressed their dislike of it at another season, but things were then in such situation, that it was not thought proper to animadvert on these accidents, whatever might have been thought of them at another time. The States, indeed, were obliged to unite themselves closer than ever to Great Britain, since their safety, as well as ours, depended on the force of this alliance, as that did on our union.†

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* This is a strong proof of King William's justice and good sense. Many of the enemies of that prince have remarked, that he introduced here the Dutch custom of boards, by putting all great offices into commission; but hitherto nobody has remarked, that, when he resolved to enter into a second general war, he very prudently and honestly altered this method in the navy, by appointing a lord high-admiral; which shews, that he was more intent on the nation's being well served at sea, than on his ministers being well supported in the House of Commons.

† This steadiness of the States was chiefly owing to their confidence in King William, which, without question, induced them to enter into this long and dangerous war, though they were so much exhausted by the former. His Majesty, no doubt, pressed them to it, because he thought it their interest, as it really was,

In the midst of these preparations, however, care was taken of a point which nearly concerned trade, and that was the uniting the two East India Companies, which was done under an act of arbitration, wherein Lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, were for the old company, and Lord Halifax for the new. By this instrument it was agreed, that the old company's stock in the funds should be transferred to the new, and that the old company should purchase of the new as much of their stock as, with that which was transferred by the old, should make up a moiety of the whole capital of the united companies. The old company were likewise to give an equivalent for the new company's dead stock. During seven years each company was to have an equal power in the administration of the fund and trade; and to that end twelve persons were to be yearly appointed by the general courts of each company respectively, who were to be styled MANAGERS OF THE UNITED TRADE TO INDIA; and after these seven years were expired, the old company were to surrender their charters, and the new company was thenceforward to change its style, and to be called THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES: and this agreement was the foundation of that company which has subsisted with so great credit to themselves, and benefit to the nation, ever since.

One of the last acts of King William's administration was, a solemn message to the lower house of parliament, in relation to an union between England and Scotland, in which he said "He should esteem it a peculiar felicity, if, during his reign, some happy ex-

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and ours too. Yet such has been the violence of parties, that the Tories here have charged King William with making us principals in this war to serve the Dutch, while the patriots in Holland have loaded his memory with the imputation of sacrificing the interest of the republic to those of his three kingdoms. It is hard to say, which is most wonderful, the wisdom and integrity of the king, or the ingratitude of the people in both countries.

pedient for making both kingdoms one, might take place, and, therefore, he was extremely desirous a treaty for this purpose might be set on foot, which he therefore recommended in the most earnest manner to the House of Commons." In compliance with the message, the house did appoint a day to consider of the proposition contained therein: but the death of the king prevented their coming to any resolution.

Before this happened, however, they resolved that forty thousand men should be granted for the service of the fleet in the ensuing year, and shewed such an inclination to enter heartily into all the measures necessary to render the grand alliance effectual towards the ends for which it was made, that the French, who little expected that such a spirit would be shewn in this parliament, were much surprised, as easily foreseeing that the new war would distress them much more than the old had ever done, because it was likely to be better managed.

His extraordinary attention to business, is thought to have hastened the king's decease, which happened on the 8th of March, 1701-2, about eight in the morning. He died, as he lived, with great steadiness of mind, and shewed himself, in his last moments, as much a hero as he had ever done in the field. I ought now to say somewhat of this prince's character, and to sum up all with a general view of the capital events in his reign; but as I have already treated very copiously of such as have any affinity with the principal design of this work, and as the fame of King William III. stands in no need of my feeble assistance, I shall content myself with saying, that never any prince better understood the general interest of Europe, or pursued it with greater firmness,* and that whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign, to the prejudice of our affairs, were not so much owing to any mistakes in his conduct, as to the circumstances of the times, our own unfortunate divisions, and the fatal consequences of both.

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* The reader, if he is inclined to pursue this subject farther, may consult Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, the Life of King William, &c. where he will often find, that flattery is as dangerous to the reputation of a prince, as prejudice itself. Some writers, out

The only thing now left to be performed, before we proceed to another chapter, is, the collecting, as far as the slender memoirs that have come to our hands will allow, some account of the most eminent seamen who died in this reign; and in treating of these, the reader is desired to remember, that no party is espoused; that every man is considered as a person of worth and honour, so far as he pursued his principles, and was just to the prince he served, and faithful to the interest of his country. By the help of this necessary and well founded distinction, we shall be able to do strict justice to all those brave men who exposed their lives in their country's service at sea, of what party soever they were, or were reputed; which, however, hath been seldom done in a work of this kind, where, generally speaking, the heroes are all on one side, and there are none but indifferent people on the other: whereas, in truth, there is no foundation for such characters, honest and brave men being found alike on both sides, though they have sometimes had the misfortune to be hated and defamed by such as have less regard to merit than opinion, and who thought it excusable to raise a clamour against a great man in an opposite interest, though they were sensible this clamour sprung from prejudice, and not any love to justice. These reflections I thought necessary, to prevent the reader's being surprised by what he meets with in the following pages, wherein I have as much disregarded the common cry, as I have been careful, by an accurate comparison of

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of pure zeal, would make King William more than man; and others, blinded by malice, refuse to see, what his actions made visible to all the world, that he was one of the greatest men, and one of the wisest princes, in every respect, of the age in which he lived.

facts, to come as near, in every instance as I could, to the naked truth, which, when discovered, I have not either exaggerated or concealed.

GEORGE LEGGE,

BARON OF DARTMOUTH, &c.

If remarkable loyalty, and a steady adherence to the interest of the prince who raised him, joined with all the abilities requisite to fill the many high employments he possessed, ought to render the memory of a man valuable to posterity, then the memoirs of Lord Dartmouth deserve our utmost attention; for he was, even in the opinion of such as were not his friends, one of the ablest and best men of the age in which he lived, or, to express it in the words of a writer who ought always to meet with credit when he speaks well of the dead, "The worthiest nobleman of the court of King James II."* to whose fortunes he adhered, though he had always opposed with firmness the councils which were the causes of his distress.

The family of Legge came over hither from Italy, where to this day the eldest branch are nobles of Venice. Here in England there are two flourishing families of this name; one in Herefordshire, the other settled at Legge's Place, near Tunbridge, in Kent, from whom the present earls of Dartmouth are lineal descendants, as coming in a direct line from Thomas Legge, of that place, who was sheriff of London in 1344. twice lord-mayor, and twice representative for the city in parliament.

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* The author mentioned in the text is Bishop Burnet, whose character of this noble lord is to be found towards the end of his first volume. What he says of him is so just and generous, that it deserves the reader's notice. That prelate, speaking of the uneasiness King James was under on the fitting out of the Dutch fleet in 1688, and of the preparations he made for the defending himself, proceeds thus: "He recalled Strickland, and gave the command to the Lord Dartmouth, who was indeed one of the worthiest men of his court. He loved him, and had been long in his service and in his confidence, but was much against all the conduct of his affairs; yet he resolved to stick to him at all hazards."

In the reign of Henry VII. the family settled in Ireland, where Edward Legge, Esq. was vice-president of Munster, and died in the year 1616, leaving behind him a very numerous posterity; *viz.* six sons and seven daughters, all of them distinguished by their great merit, and several of the daughters especially, by living to a very extraordinary age; Elizabeth, the eldest, to 105, Margaret, who married Mr. Fitzgerald, to upwards of 100, and Anne, the wife of William Anthony, Esq. who died in 1702, aged 102.* But let us now return to the person whose actions we are to record.

He was the eldest son of the famous Colonel William Legge, groom of the bed-chamber to King Charles I. and a most constant follower of all his fortunes. Soon after the restoration, his father thought proper to send him to sea, under the care of that great and gallant admiral, Sir Edward Spragge, in the first Dutch war, in 1665, when Mr. Legge was barely seventeen.† He distinguished himself in all the actions of that and the succeeding year by such remarkable testimonies of conduct as well as courage, that in those days when naval preferments were earned before they were enjoyed, he was without envy raised to the command of the Pembroke in 1667, when he was yet short of twenty, a preferment which did him as much honour as any he afterwards obtained.

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* These particulars are chiefly collected from the memoirs of the family, though they are likewise confirmed by several monumental inscriptions.

† The reason of his going to sea under Sir Edward Spragge was, because of his near relation to the Legge family, his mother being second sister to Colonel William Legge, this gentleman's father.

After the peace, he applied himself assiduously to the study of the mathematics, especially to such branches of that extensive science as have any relation to the military art; and, having attained to great skill as an engineer, he was employed by his Majesty in that character, and in 1669 succeeded his father in the command of an independent company of foot. In 1671, he was made captain of the Fairfax, and, in 1672, of the Royal Catharine, in which he served with the highest reputation, having beat the Dutch out who boarded her while she was sinking, and, after he had stopped her leaks, brought her safe into harbour; in which desperate service he received several wounds. In acknowledgment of this and other marks of military virtue shewn in that memorable year, he was, towards the end of it, made lieutenant governor of Portsmouth, under his royal highness James duke of York; in 1673, he was made governor of that place, and at the same time master of the horse, and gentleman of the bed chamber to the duke.

In 1677, he was added as an assistant in the board of ordnance, with a salary of 300*l.* per annum, and the same year was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general of the ordnance, and had also a regiment of foot bestowed upon him. These extraordinary marks of royal favour were soon followed by still greater testimonies of esteem and confidence; for in 1681 he was sworn of the privy council to King Charles II. and in 1682 had a special commission to review all the forts and garrisons throughout the kingdom of England, and was also constituted and appointed commander in chief. On the second of December, in the same year, he was, by letters patent, raised to the dignity of a peer of this realm, by the title of baron of Dartmouth in the county of Devon; with remainder, in case of failure of his issue male, to his brother William Legge, Esq. and his issue; and, in the preamble of the patent, his own and his father's services are very justly and gratefully acknowledged.*

In 1683, the king finding it impossible to support the garrison of Tangiers out of his own revenue, and having little hopes of obtaining any supply for that purpose from a parliament, his last having shewn a remarkable dislike to the keeping up of forces there, resolved, notwithstanding the immense sums it had cost him in fortifying the place, and in building a mole, which rendered the port both convenient and safe, to destroy the whole, and to bring back the troops he had there into England. The management of this affair required great secrecy, and much conduct in the commander in chief, and this probably determined the king to make use of Lord Dartmouth, who was appointed governor of Tangiers, and general of his Majesty's forces in Africa, as well as admiral of the fleet, in order to enable him to execute his instructions, which he did very exactly and effectually; so that, on his return home, the king was pleased to make him a grant of 10,000*l.* as a reward for that service, besides other acknowledgments.†

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* The preamble of this patent recites, "That his Majesty remembering the great merits of William Legge, one of the grooms of the royal bedchamber to his late father King Charles I. especially in that unparalleled rebellion raised against him, in which, being a person of singular skill and experience in military affairs, as also a valiant and expert commander, he faithfully served him in most of the battles and sieges of those unhappy times: also performed several eminent services to the said king, since his most happy restoration: and farther considering that George Legge, eldest son of the said William, following his father's steps in divers military employments, especially in sundry sharp and dangerous naval fights, wherein he did freely hazard his life; for which respect, being made general of the ordnance and artillery, and one of his most honourable privy council, his Majesty thought fit to dignify him with some farther honour." &c.

† Particularly a grant of a fair to be held twice a year, and a market twice a week, upon Blackheath, in the parish of Lewisham, in the county of Kent. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the greatest difficulty in executing his commission in Tangiers

Upon the accession of King James II. his lordship met with all the testimonies of royal favour and friendship which his many services, and unspotted fidelity to that prince, deserved; for he not only continued him in all the offices he then possessed, but raised him also to posts of still greater consequence; so that he was at once master of the horse to the king, general of the ordnance, constable of the Tower of London, captain of an independent company of foot, and one of the privy council.

These employments he executed with such great diligence and reputation, that he stood as high in the favour of the people, as he did in that of his prince, and was always considered as the greatest encourager of merit, and the most upright man in the administration of public affairs, that the age produced. He preserved the affection and confidence of his master to the last, and yet he was so far from giving in to the king's fatal inclinations to Popery and arbitrary government, that he opposed all councils looking either way, with much firmness and freedom, though he took care to restrain all his remonstrances within the just bounds of decency and duty.

In 1687, King James making a short progress, and Lord Dartmouth attending him therein at Coventry, the city presented his Majesty with a large gold cup and cover, which he immediately gave to his lordship, and that too with a compliment as generous and as acceptable as the present, "I would have your lordship," said he, "receive this cup and cover as a mark of the city of Coventry's concern for the sufferings of your father in it." For, in the time of the civil wars, old Colonel William Legge had remained long a prisoner in Coventry gaol, after being taken at the battle of Worcester.*

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was, to blow up all the works there, without exposing the garrison to the Moors; which service he performed with equal caution and success.

* This story of his father's sufferings at Coventry certainly de-

When it was absolutely certain that the prince of Orange intended to invade England, King James saw the necessity of employing some more considerable person than Sir Roger Strickland, who had hitherto commanded the fleet, and whose being a Papist, though it recommended him to that trust, rendered him very disagreeable to the seamen. In this situation of things, his Majesty certainly made a very proper choice of Lord Dartmouth, for the important office of admiral, since no man had greater abilities, scarcely any so great an affection for his Majesty's person, or so hearty a zeal for his interest.

His lordship was much beloved by the seamen, and so universally esteemed by the officers of the navy, that he very soon put his fleet in a posture fit for service; and though, as I have shewn elsewhere, it has been strongly reported, that his lordship declined fighting the Dutch fleet, yet it is certain that it was never in his power, and that, if it had, both he and his officers would have performed what they took to be their duty. But, after being severely ruffled by the storm, the fleet was forced into Portsmouth, where his lordship quitted the command to Sir John Berry, and returned to London.

After the revolution, Lord Dartmouth lived quietly,

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serves the reader's notice; and, therefore, not to be wanting either to his entertainment, or to the illustration of the history, I subjoin it here. The great share Colonel William Legge had in the favour of King Charles I. made him so obnoxious to the rump, that they intended to have executed him, as they did the earl of Derby, for being in arms against them, and with that view they confined him in Coventry gaol. His lady, knowing their cruelty, and having tried all her interest with the people in power in vain, at last contrived a very artful method for making his escape, which was as successfully executed. With this view, she hired an old woman to lend him her clothes, which he put on; and, having a close stool pan well filled between his hands, the smell kept the keepers at such a distance, that he walked fairly off, without their making any enquiries. After the murder of King Charles I. he was much about the person of the Duke of York, which inspired his Majesty with a great tenderness for him and all his family.

and submitted to the new government, yet was always suspected to retain his old sentiments for the person who had been so long, and withal, so kind a master. For this reason, and on account of some suggestions that he carried on a secret correspondence with the exiled king, he was committed prisoner to the Tower of London. While he continued there, some rumours flew abroad of his being ill treated, which had such an effect on the sailors, who loved him as their father, that they assembled in great bodies on Tower-hill, where they expressed their resentment in such language, that it was at length found expedient to desire Lord Dartmouth to confer with them; and, on his assuring them that the report they had heard was void of any foundation, they gave a cheerful huzza, and dispersed immediately.

It is thought, however, that his confinement, and the want of his usual exercise, might contribute to the shortening his days; for, on the 21st of October, 1691, he was seized with an apoplexy, which put an end to his life in the forty-fourth year of his age.*

His relations applied themselves, on his decease, to the constable of the Tower, then Lord Lucas, for leave to remove his body in order to its interment; which his lordship scrupled, without receiving express directions from the king. But, upon application made to his Majesty, he not only ordered that the body should be immediately delivered to his lordship's relations, but, upon his being informed that they intended to bury it near the remains of his father in the Little Minories church, in a vault belonging to his family, his Majesty gave further orders, that such marks of respect should be paid at his funeral, as would have been due to him, if he had died possessed of all his employments. Which is a circumstance equally honourable to the memory of King William and Lord Dartmouth, since it shews impartiality and greatness of soul in the former, and the true merit of the latter, which produced such a testimony of respect from so penetrating a judge.

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* King James received the news of his death with great concern, and said, with a deep sigh, "Then faithful Will Legge's honest son George is dead! I have few such servants now!"

A monument of white marble, adorned with a proper inscription, was erected to the memory of his lordship, by his consort Barbara, baroness of Dartmouth, who was the daughter of Sir Henry Archbold, of Staffordshire, who died in 1718, and lies buried there by him.

His lordship had by her an only son William, afterwards earl of Dartmouth, so created by her Majesty Queen Anne, in the tenth year of her reign. His lordship had also the honour of being secretary of state and lord privy-seal in the same reign, and discharged both those high offices with that integrity hereditary in his lordship's family, and deceasing December 15, 1750, at his house on Blackheath, in Kent, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, was succeeded in his honour and estates by his grandson William.

SIR JOHN BERRY, Knt.

REAR-ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.

There cannot be a stronger testimony of real ability, than a man's surmounting, by his spirit and diligence, a long series of crosses and misfortunes, and thereby forcing himself, as it were, into an easier situation, and, by degrees, into a condition worthy of his merit. Fortitude in suffering is a virtue no less honourable than courage in achieving, and the distresses of heroes, like the shades in a fine picture, afford a graceful relief to the brighter parts of the piece, and thereby considerably heighten its beauties. This observation cannot more fully be illustrated, than it will be by the account we are to give of the life and actions of Sir John Berry, who, without any assistance other than resulted from the contemplation of his courage and conduct, arrived at the dignity of rear-admiral of England, and shared the confidence of three succeeding kings.

The family of the Berries in Devonshire were seated at Berry-Nerber, near Ilfracomb, where they had flourished for some hundreds of years.* But the father of our gallant sea-officer was never in any extraordinary circumstances. He owed his reputation, which long subsisted in his neighbourhood, not to the goods of fortune, but to his learning and abilities, and above all, to his courage and loyalty. He was a clergyman, and vicar of Knoweston and Molland in that county, where he discharged his duty with equal fidelity to the church and to the state. For this, the saints of those times not only turned him out of his livings, but plundered his house, and took even his bed from under him; all which they sold by public auction, except his books, which being a large and valuable collection, they, to shew their moderation and generosity, bestowed them upon an Independent preacher. Soon after this, the truly reverend Mr. Daniel Berry, a victim to his honest principles, died of grief and want, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and left behind him a widow, Elizabeth, daughter of John Moore of Moorhays, Esq. and nine small children, of which seven were sons and two daughters.†

The eldest, Robert, betook himself to the sea, where he succeeded very well. The second, John, of whom we are to speak, and who was born in his father's vicarage-house at Knoweston in the year 1635, being at the good old man's death about seventeen, went to Plymouth, where he bound himself apprentice to Mr. Robert Meering, a merchant in that town, and part-owner in several ships. He went to sea in his service, and was extremely unfortunate in setting out, being twice taken by the Spaniards, and suffering a long imprisonment, which, however, did him no great hurt in the main. On his return to England, he found his master in very bad circumstances; which was no prejudice to him; for, in a short time after, Mr. Meering told him, that, having now no farther occasion for his service, he would, in reward of his past diligence, give him the remainder of his time, which he did freely.*

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* Pole's Survey of Devonshire, MS. This village lies in Branton-hundred, in the middle between Combe Merton and Ilfracomb, at a small distance from the sea, and about twenty-seven miles from Exeter.

† Most of these particulars are taken from a monument erected in the year 1684, by Sir John Berry, to the memory of his father. His two churches of Knoweston and Molland were not above two miles asunder, lying both in Moulton hundred, at the distance of about eighteen miles from Exeter.

Mr. Berry, thus at large and at liberty to act for himself, immediately came up to London, where, by the help of some friends, he was preferred to be boatswain of a ketch belonging to the royal navy, called the Swallow, which, under the command of Captain Insam, was ordered to the West Indies in company with two of his Majesty's frigates, both of which were lost in the gulf of Florida; but the Swallow, by cutting down her masts, and heaving her guns overboard, as also her provisions, got clear, and, in the space of sixteen weeks, during which they had nothing to eat but the fish they caught, or to drink but rain-water, they arrived at Campeachy. There they furnished themselves with provisions, and then sailed for Jamaica, where they arrived in three weeks.

Sir Thomas Muddiford, who was a native of Devonshire as well as Mr. Berry, was then governor of that island, and he ordered the Swallow to be refitted, put eight guns on board her; and having intelligence that a pirate, who had taken one Mr. Peach, bound from Southampton to Jamaica, and marooned him and all his crew, was still in those seas, he ordered the Swallow, now well victualled and manned, to put to sea in quest of her, and gave his countryman Berry the title of lieutenant.

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* The particulars mentioned in this life were most of them collected by Mr. Daniel Berry, brother to the admiral; but, as he wrote at a considerable distance of time, he often omits dates, and sometimes mistakes them.

In three weeks after they sailed from Jamaica, they found the pirate at anchor in a bay off the island of Hispaniola. He had about sixty men and twenty guns, whereas the Swallow had but forty men and eight small guns. Captain Insam having considered the enemy's strength, and compared it with his own, called up all his men, and addressed them in these words: "Gentlemen, the blades we are to attack are men at arms, old buccaneers, and superior to us in number and in the force of their ship, and, therefore, I would have your opinion, whether"—"Sir," interrupted Lieutenant Berry, "we are men at arms too, and which is more, honest men, and fight under the king's commission; and, if you have no stomach for fighting, be pleased to walk down into your cabin." The crew applauded this motion, and declared one and all for Captain Berry, who undertook this affair with great disadvantage.

The pirate rode at anchor to the windward, by which the Swallow was obliged to make two trips under her lee, in which she received two broadsides, and two volleys of small shot, without returning a gun. Mr. Berry then boarded her on the bow, pouring in his broadside, which killed the pirate and twenty-two men on the spot: they then fought their way to the main-mast, where they called to the doctor and his mate to get overboard, and hang by the rudder, which they did; and soon after the pirate was taken, having only seven men left, and those all wounded, though they lived long enough to be executed afterwards in Jamaica; and, which is still more remarkable, there was nobody killed on board the Swallow but the boatswain's mate.

On their return to Jamaica, Captain Insam confined his lieutenant, and brought him to a court-martial, where, on the evidence of the men, the court declared he had done his duty, and ordered the captain to live peaceably with him in their voyage to England, which he did; and Mr. Berry, notwithstanding what was past, behaved towards him with all imaginable modesty and submission.

In a short time after he came home, the Dutch war broke out, and Mr. Berry had a sloop given him, called the Maria, of fourteen guns, with the king's commission. He held this small command for about four months, in which space he took thirty-two prizes, and, for his extraordinary diligence, had the command given him of the Coronation, a hired ship of war of fifty-six guns.

In this ship he was soon after sent to the West Indies, where our colonies were in no small danger, as having both the French and Dutch upon their hands. On his arrival at Barbadoes, the governor bought some large merchant-ships, converted them into men of war, and having made up nine sail, including the Coronation, manned and put them under the command of Commodore Berry. With this little fleet he sailed for Nevis, in order to protect it from the French, who had already made themselves masters of St. Christopher's, Antigua, and Montserrat. He was scarcely arrived, before he had intelligence that the French were preparing at St. Christopher's a very great force, which was intended for the conquest of Nevis. They had twenty-two men of war, and frigates, six large transport-ships of their own, and four Dutch. With these they sailed towards Nevis as to a certain victory.

Commodore Berry sailed with his nine ships to meet them; and, as he turned the point of the island, one of his best ships blew up, which struck his men with astonishment. "Now you have seen an English ship blow up," said the commodore, "let us try if we can't blow up Frenchmen. There they are, boys! and if we don't beat them, they will beat us." Having said this, he immediately began the fight with the French admiral, and, after a brisk engagement of upwards of thirteen hours, he forced this mighty fleet to fly for shelter under the cannon of St. Christopher's, whither he pursued them, sent in a fire-ship, and burnt the French admiral: seeing her in flames, he said to his seamen, "I told you in the morning, that we should burn a Frenchman before night; to-morrow we will try what we can do with the rest." But, while he was refitting his ships, the enemy wisely stole away, the French to Martinico, and the Dutch to Virginia.* Sir John Harman being sent with a squadron to relieve him, Commodore Berry returned to England, and served with great honour in the channel and in the Mediterranean.

In the second Dutch war, as it was called, though properly speaking it was the third, he had the command of the Resolution, a seventy-gun ship, in which he was present at the famous action in Southwold-bay, on the twenty-eighth of May, 1672. In this battle, the captain observing that his royal highness the duke of York, then lord high-admiral of England, was very hard pressed, he left his station, and came in to his relief, where the service proved so hot, that in less than two hours he had no fewer than one hundred and twenty men killed, as many more wounded, and his ship scarcely able to float: upon this he was towed out of the line, stopped his leaks, and fell into his place again in an hour, and there did such service, that when his Majesty came to meet the fleet, and dined on board the Royal Sovereign at the Buoy in the Nore, he, of his own motive, called for Captain Berry, and, having knighted him, said very graciously, "As our thoughts have been now upon honour, we will hereafter think of profit; for I would not have so brave a man a poor knight."

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* We are, in some measure, enabled to fix the date of this enterprise by the following remarkable passage, preserved in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society: "On the 19th of August, 1667, there was a terrible hurricane in this island, at which time Sir John Berry, captain of the Coronation man of war, was in the harbour with that and several other ships, of which, one was commanded by Captain Langford, who, having learned some of the prognostics of a tornado from a Caribbean, perceiving them, he told Sir John and the other commanders of it, who, depending on his intelligence, made their ships ready for sea, and in the morning, about four of the clock, the wind coming very hard northerly, they put to sea, and came all back, in four or five days time, safe to the road again Captain Langford was ashore, and being confident of the hurricane's coming, took such care before-hand to secure his sugars and goods in the store-house, that, when the hurricane had carried away the roof of the house, all, except one hogshead of sugar, remained safe." Lowthorp's Abridgment, vol. ii. p. 106.

In the year 1682 it was thought expedient to send the duke of York down to Scotland, and for this purpose the Gloucester frigate, under the command of Sir John Berry, was ordered to be ready: and accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of April, the duke of York embarked on board that ship. In their passage Sir John observed on the third of May, when in the mouth of the Humber, as he apprehended, an error in the pilot's conduct, though he was looked upon as a man of great abilities in his employment. Of this he informed the duke, and desired they might lie to, at least for that night, which the pilot opposed; and, being a great favourite of the duke, his advice prevailed. But his royal highness was soon convinced of the superiority of Sir John Berry's judgment, since, in three quarters of an hour afterwards, the ship was lost, and about three hundred people in her, amongst whom were some persons of the first rank; and the duke himself narrowly escaped in the long boat, Sir John Berry standing with his sword drawn in the stern of the boat to hinder people from crowding in, which undoubtedly saved the duke, since a very few more would have overset the long-boat.*

For the loss of this ship Sir John, according to the rules of the navy, was tried by a court-martial; but, it appearing clearly to have happened through another man's fault, he was not only acquitted, but continued still in as great favour as ever both with the king and duke, who frequently consulted him as to the management of the navy.

When a resolution was taken in 1683 to blow up Tangiers, and a considerable fleet was sent thither under the command of Lord Dartmouth, Sir John Berry was made choice of to be his vice-admiral, and had the sole command of the fleet while his lordship was on shore directing the blowing up of the works. In this critical expedition Sir John gave such remarkable testimonies of his courage and conduct, and took such care in bringing off all the English and their effects, that, upon his return home, he was made a commissioner of the navy, in which post he continued to the day of his death.

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* This accident happened by their striking upon the sand called the Lemon and Ore, sixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber. Two things were very remarkable, that the duke took extraordinary care of Colonel John Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, and called him first into the boat. The other was, that the mariners aboard the sinking vessel gave a loud huzza, when they saw the duke in safety. Bishop Burnet's account of this matter is too remarkable to be forgotten. "The duke," says he, "got into a boat, and took care of his dogs, and some unknown persons, who were taken, from that earnest care of his, to be his priests. The long-boat went off with very few in her, though she might have carried off above eighty more than she did. One hundred and fifty persons perished, some of them men of great quality." The Gloucester frigate was a ship of forty guns, there were upwards of fifty persons saved with the duke, and that eighty more should be able to go into her long-boat, is a fact that will gain but little credit at Wapping. Besides, the keeping the people out was Sir John Berry's act, and, if there had been any such circumstances of cruelty, one can scarcely believe the sailors would have testified so much joy at his royal highness's escape.

Under the reign of King James II. he was in as high favour as he could desire, the king constantly consulting him in matters relating to the management of the fleet; and he was one of the commissioners called in on that great reform of the navy, mentioned in the close of the 17th chapter, and had the chief hand in bringing things into that exquisite order in which they were found when the king withdrew to France. He was not, however, considered solely as a commissioner, and as a man no longer fit for active employment; for when it was known that the Dutch meditated an invasion, and a fleet was fitted out to defend our coasts, Sir John Berry was appointed vice-admiral, and hoisted his flag on board the Elizabeth, a third rate, the admiral, Lord Dartmouth, being in the Resolution, and the rear-admiral, Lord Berkley of Stratton, first in the Montague, and then in the Edgar. After the landing of the prince of Orange, when Lord Dartmouth thought fit to leave the fleet, the sole command of it devolved on Sir John Berry, who held it until it was laid up.

The change of the government wrought none in the condition of our admiral. An experienced officer, and a man of honour will be a welcome servant to every prince. King William was one who valued abilities, and understood them, and therefore he often sent for Sir John Berry to confer with him on naval affairs; and once, particularly, the king engaged with him in so close and earnest a conversation, that it took up the whole night, and Sir John was not dismissed the royal closet, until it was pretty far advanced in the morning. Yet this favour brought him no accession either of post or profit; he kept what he had, and probably thought that sufficient, being commissioner of the navy, governor of Deal Castle, and captain of an independent company.

We now hasten to the last scene of his life, over which such a curtain has been drawn, as leaves it not in our power to let in the light. He was ordered in the beginning of the month of February, 1691, to Portsmouth, to pay off some ships there; and, while he was employed in the discharge of this office on board one of them, he was suddenly taken ill, and thereupon carried on shore to Portsmouth, where, in three or four days, it was given out that he died of a fever; but, upon opening his body, it appeared clearly to the physicians and surgeons who were present, that he did not die a natural death, but that he had been dispatched out of the world by poison, though by whom, or for what reason, never appeared, or at least it was never made public.

In his private life his wisdom, beneficence, integrity, and unfeigned attachment to the church of England, were as conspicuous as his courage and other military virtues in his public character: so that he died equally lamented, by all who knew him, either as a private gentleman or as an English admiral. His corpse, according to his own direction, was carried from Portsmouth to London, and decently interred in the chancel of Stepney church, where a noble monument is erected to his memory, all of white marble, adorned with his bust in alabaster. Over his head are the arms of his family; *viz.* in a field, gules, three bars, or; and, on a white marble table underneath, the following inscription:

"Ne id nescias, lector, D. Johannes Berry, De-
"voniensis, dignitate equestri clarus, mari tantum
"non imperator, de rege et patria (quod et barbari
"norunt) bene meritus, magnam ob res fortiter ges-
"tas adeptus gloriam, famæ satur, post multas repor-
"tatas victorias, cum ab aliis vinci non potuit, fatis
"cessit 14mo. Feb. 1691; baptizatus 7mo. Jan.
"1635."

The lady of Sir John Berry survived him many years, but he left no issue by her, nor, so far as I have been able to learn, ever had any.

ARTHUR HERBERT,

BARON HERBERT OF TORBAY, EARL OF TORRINGTON, AND ADMIRAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FLEET OF ENGLAND.

It is the duty of historians to report things fairly, and to speak of men impartially, without exaggerating their virtues, or extenuating their vices, by exhibiting their characters to posterity in that light, in which, after the best inquiry they are able to make, they appear to themselves; for, as water never rises higher than its source, so it is impossible that an author should do more for his reader than his talents and his information will permit. The latter was so inconsiderable when this work was first written, that it was thought more expedient not to attempt a life of this noble person, than to repeat a few facts and dates, so indifferently connected, as that it could not be presumed they would give even the most indulgent peruser any satisfaction.

After much pains and search, some better materials have been found; and as almost every remarkable transaction of this great man's life fell within the compass of King William's reign, or at least not much later, and is more or less allied to those transactions of which we have been speaking, it seemed more natural to place what we have to say of him here, than at the time of his death, when they could not fail of making an apparent breach in the order of our history.

He was the son of Sir Edward Herbert of London, knight, of the noble family of Herbert of Cherbery, a branch of that of Pembroke, which suffering severely for the loyalty of Sir Edward, obliged his sons to think of making their fortunes by their industry and merit. Arthur, the eldest, though he had a small estate of his own, made the sea his choice, as his younger brother Edward did the law; and both attained the highest stations, the latter becoming chief-justice of the king's bench, as well as the former admiral of the fleet of England.

Our young seaman, immediately after the restoration, was much taken notice of by his royal highness James duke of York, by whose favour he was very early promoted to the command of one of his Majesty's ships of war; and, in the first Dutch war in the reign of Charles II. he commanded the Pembroke in the Straits. He distinguished himself there, according to the manner of those times, in a very high degree, as appears from the following extract of a letter from Cadiz, dated in March 1667, which I chuse to produce in the same plain and artless language in which it was wrote, rather than hazard any variation in the facts, by attempting to give it a better dress.

"Captain Herbert in the Pembroke is now in this port, being newly returned from a fresh dispute with a Zealand man of war, of thirty-four guns, and one hundred and eighty men, with whom he fought some days before, in sight of that bay, from two in the afternoon, till the night put an end to that day's work. All that night the Pembroke frigate carrying out a light for the Zealander, and the next morning, being to the windward, fired a gun, and bore up to re-engage her; but the Zealander, being the nimbler sailer bore away once or twice before the wind, declining any farther dispute, which the frigate perceiving, and fearing to be put to leeward of the port by a fruitless pursuit, the wind then blowing a strong Levant, came again for the bay, which the Zealander wanted not the confidence to boast of as a mark of his victory. Since this, the frigate being put ashore to wash and tallow, the Zealander made several challenges, but went out again to sea, before the frigate could get ready. Yesterday morning the Zealander coming in, the frigate, being ready, went out to meet him, and passed five times upon him within pistol-shot, until the Zealander, finding the service too hot, bore in for the bay, pursued for a long time by the frigate, which, being unable to overtake him, fired her chace gun, and stood out again to sea, the Zealander answering her challenge with a friendly salute of three guns to leeward, but yet thought it convenient to put into the bay, where he triumphantly fired all his guns, leaving the Pembroke at sea in vain attending him till the next morning. The captain of the Zealander afterwards came ashore, endeavouring to persuade the people that his main-mast was disabled, and that he wanted shot for his guns. In this dispute the frigate had seven men killed, and five hurt, but none mortally, and her fore-mast somewhat disabled, but will speedily be refitted and made serviceable.

He continued after this affair in the Straits for about six weeks, till he had advice that Rear-admiral Kempthorne had sailed with his squadron for the Straits mouth, where he took care to join him with a small fleet of sixteen or seventeen merchantmen under his convoy, in order to proceed with the rear-admiral to England. They met with nothing extraordinary in their passage till about the middle of the month of May, when, being off the island of Portland, the Pembroke ran foul of the Fairfax in the night, and sunk at once; but Captain Herbert and most of his crew were happily saved, there being none lost in the vessel but a few sick men, who were not able to help themselves, and whom the suddenness of the accident, and the confusion every body was in, hindered from being assisted by others. After this narrow escape, Captain Herbert went on board another ship of the squadron, and arrived safely at Portsmouth.

It was not long before he had another ship given him, and both in that, and in the second Dutch war, he behaved upon all occasions with great spirit and resolution, receiving several wounds, and losing the sight of one of his eyes in his country's service; all which considered, it must seem very strange, that, when he fell afterwards under misfortunes, his courage should be disputed. In one of the last sea-fights in the second Dutch war, he had the command of the Cambridge, in which Sir Fretchville Hollis had been killed in the battle of Solebay, and, as Captain Herbert succeeded in his command, he was very near succeeding also to the same disaster, being desperately wounded in the action, and his ship so disabled, that, together with the Resolution, which was in as bad a condition, she was, by Prince Rupert, sent home to refit.

After that war was over, Captain Herbert had leisure to attend the court, and to solicit the rewards that were due to his services, in which he met with all possible kindness from the duke of York, who, as he had been hitherto careful of his fortunes, thought himself obliged to assist him in his pretensions; so that in the year 1680 or 1681 he was made rear-admiral of the blue, and from that time was considered as a person who had as much probability of rising as any in the service. It was not long before an occasion offered which justified this conjecture; for it being found necessary to send a supply of troops and military stores to Tangiers, then in our hands, as also a squadron to curb the insolence of the Algerines, who, notwithstanding the treaties that had been concluded but a few years before, began again to disturb our commerce, it was resolved, that the command of this armament should be given to Admiral Herbert, who was accordingly instructed to contribute as much as possible to the raising the siege of Tangiers, and, when that was done, to use his best endeavours to bring the Algerines to a submission, and to a new treaty, upon better and more explicit terms than were contained in that they had lately broken, which they pretended to explain in such a manner as to justify their piracies.

In 1682, Rear-admiral Herbert sailed into the Mediterranean with a strong squadron, and a considerable number of tenders and store-ships, which arrived very safely under his convoy at Tangiers. He found that fortress not a little straightened by the Moors, by whom it was so closely blocked up, that nothing could enter it by land. Mr. Herbert not only relieved the garrison by the seasonable supply that he brought of provisions and military stores, but resolved also to restore his countrymen to liberty as well as plenty, by compelling the enemy to raise the blockade. He landed, with this view, as many seamen out of the fleet as he could possibly spare, formed them into a battalion, and by attacking the Moors on one side, while the garrison made a brisk sally, and drove them from most of their posts, on the other, obliged them to leave the neighbourhood of the place, and to retire farther within land.

He executed the other part of his charge with respect to the Algerines, with equal spirit and success, destroyed some of their ships, and disposed things in such a manner to disturb and distress that state by sea, as obliged the Dey to summon a divan, in which it was resolved to enter into an immediate negociation with the English admiral: the terms were very speedily settled, without any of those ambiguities, which left them pretences for breaking their treaties when they pleased; and, the business of his expedition being happily over, he returned home safe, with the squadron under his command, towards the latter end of the same year.

Some time after this, but whether in the reign of King Charles II. or King James, I am not able to say, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral, and was as much esteemed by the seamen, and in as high credit at court, as any officer in the service. He was also appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord-high-admiral of England, in conjunction with Daniel, earl of Nottingham, Sir

Humphry Winch, Bart. Sir Thomas Meeres, Knt. Sir Edward Hales, Bart. Henry Saville, Esq. Sir John Chicheley, Knt. and John Lord Vaughan, on the seventeenth of April, 1684, his name appearing in the commission, after that of Sir John Chicheley. The favours he had received from the duke of York gave him room to expect farther preferments upon the accession of that prince to the throne; nor was he deceived in his expectations, since, in the beginning of the new reign, he was made vice-admiral of England and master of the robes, there being at that time no man of his rank who was more heartily attached either to the government or to the person of that prince.

But when the scheme for repealing the test-act came under consideration, and King James thought fit to closet such of his officers in the army and fleet as had seats in the House of Commons, it quickly appeared, that Vice-admiral Herbert was none of those complying spirits, who for the sake of private profit would sacrifice the interest of the public. His brother, the Lord-chief-justice Herbert, had exposed himself to public odium by giving judgment in his court, in favour of the king's dispensing power, upon an action brought against Sir Edward Hales, who had accepted an employment, without qualifying himself for it by taking the oaths the law required; and, though this seemed in some measure to have done all that the king wanted, he still persisted in his design of having the test-act repealed, which, among other extraordinary consequences, produced the disgrace of Vice-admiral Herbert, who, to that hour had never done any thing to disoblige the king, or had perceived the least coldness in his Majesty towards him. We have this story at large in Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, with some inferences from it that are very just; I shall give it the reader, therefore, in his own words.

"So little regard," says that prelate, "had the chief-justice's nearest friends to his opinion in this particular, that his brother. Admiral Herbert, being pressed by the king to promise that he would vote for the repeal of the test, answered the king very plainly, that he could not do it either in honour or conscience. The king said, he knew he was a man of honour, but the rest of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conscience. He answered boldly, he had his faults, but they were such, that other people who talked more of conscience were guilty of the like. He was indeed a man abandoned to luxury and vice: but though he was poor, and had much to lose, having places to the value of four thousand pounds a-year, he chose to lose them all rather than comply. This made much noise; for, as he had great reputation for his conduct in sea affairs so he had been most passionately zealous in the king's service, from his first setting out to that day. It appeared by this, that no past service would be considered, if men were not resolved to comply in every thing."

The bishop bears very hard, in the beginning of this account of the vice-admiral's behaviour, upon that of his brother the chief-justice, as he does likewise in many other places; it is therefore but common justice to the character of that gentleman, who was a great lawyer, and in private life a very generous worthy man, to take notice, that he was very far from being so absolute a time-server as he is frequently represented; for the truth is, that he suffered as well as his brother for his regard to the public, and there seems to be no reason that this truth should not be as well known. When King James found it was in vain to think of attaining his purposes by a parliament, he placed all his hopes in what was certainly a fitter instrument for answering his design, and that was his standing army. Yet in the management of this there was some difficulty; for, being composed of Englishmen, they shewed an inclination rather to desert their colours than to act against their country. To prevent this, it was resolved to make use of an act of Parliament, by which it was made felony for any soldier to quit his colours, after being duly inlisted in the king's service, in the time of war, either in parts beyond the seas or in Scotland. But, to make this law operate in England was not very consonant to law, how much soever it might be to the king's will in this point; therefore the Lord-chief-justice Herbert was as far from complying in this, as his brother the admiral had been in that of the test, upon which he was removed, and was succeeded in his high office by Sir Robert Wright, who not long after hanged a poor soldier upon that statute.

It is true, that Sir Edward Herbert followed the fortunes of his master, and remained with him in France, which shewed that what he did upon the bench, proceeded purely from conscience, and not from any private reason of hope or fear whatever. But this conduct of the chief-justice, in succeeding times, was thrown in the teeth of his brother, and ill-natured people took occasion to suggest, that it was very unlikely one should be faithful to King William, while the other was excepted out of all acts of indemnity for his adherence to King James. But let us now quit this short digression, which, however, shews what sentiments the soundest lawyers had of a standing army in those days, in order to return to the conduct of Vice-admiral Herbert after he was removed from his employments, and reduced to the state of a private man, with no very considerable fortune to support even that.

The small appearance there was of his being able to live with honour, or even with safety at home, and his inclination to follow many persons of great reputation, who, at that juncture, chose to retire abroad, induced him to withdraw to Holland, whither he was either accompanied or quickly followed by his brother Colonel Charles Herbert, and by his cousin Henry Herbert, Esq. whom King William afterwards created Lord Herbert of Cherbery. Upon his arrival at the Hague, the vice-admiral was exceedingly well received, and not long after taken into the service of the States, which was a very prudent, and, in its consequences, beneficial step, numbers of English seamen following, and entering for his sake, into the Dutch service, which convinced the States that things were come to a crisis in England, and that the king had lost the affections of the subjects to a strange degree, when the seamen, who, of all others, had shewed themselves most hearty in his cause, began to forsake him.

At the prince of Orange's court, Vice-admiral Herbert was very sincerely welcomed; he was known to be a man of great weight and experience, one that perfectly understood the state of the English fleet, and the temper and characters of the officers who commanded it; so that there is no colour of reason to wonder that he was treated with very high respect, and received into the most entire confidence, more especially as he took care to maintain his dignity by a very cautious and reserved behaviour, contrary to that heat and vehemence expressed by some other persons, who thought to make their court by representing an attempt upon England as a thing that might be easily accomplished; whereas the vice-admiral understood and spoke of it as an undertaking that required a very considerable strength, exceedingly discreet management, and much deliberation.

The same prelate we have before quoted gives us, on this occasion, a very different character of Mr. Herbert from that which he had drawn before, in order to shew how great his own merit was in managing a man who was altogether untractable in the hands of others, and even of the prince himself; the passage is very curious, and, therefore, the reader shall see it in the bishop's own words: "Admiral Herbert came over to Holland, and was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill-humour; for he was on every occasion so sullen and peevish, that it was plain he set a high value on himself, and expected the same of all others. He had got his accounts past, in which he complained, that the king had used him not only hardly, but unjustly. He was a man delivered up to pride and luxury; yet he had a good understanding, and he had gained so great a reputation by his steady behaviour in England, that the prince understood that it was expected he should use him as he himself should desire, in which it was not very easy to him to constrain himself so far as that required. The managing him was in a great measure put on me; and it was no easy thing. It made me often reflect on the providence of God, that makes some men instruments in great things, to which they themselves have no sort of affection or disposition; for his private quarrel with the Lord Dartmouth, who he thought had more of the king's confidence than he himself had, was believed the root of all the sullenness he fell under toward the king, and of all the firmness that grew out of that."

It must appear more wonderful than any thing observed by our historian, if this was the real character of the man, that the States-general and the prince of Orange should give him the title of lieutenant-general-admiral, and entrust him with the supreme command of their fleet. It is true our author says, that this was not very easy to the States, or to the prince himself, who thought it an absurd thing; but why did they do it then? Nothing less, says he, would content Herbert. If this was so, we have some reason to believe, that the States and the prince of Orange had a very high opinion of his talents, or of his interest, in taking so extraordinary a step, merely because he would not be content without it.

But it was more probable that he was put at the head of the fleet, because there were many reasons that made him the properest man for that command, such as the nature of the design itself, his interest among the officers of the English navy, his perfect acquaintance with our coasts, his being most likely to engage the governors of sea-port towns to come in to the prince, and, above all, the necessity they were under of having some Englishman in a high post, to prevent the people from considering this as a hostile invasion. Now, if we view this matter in these lights, it is no difficult thing to see, that, of all the English who were about his royal highness, Vice-admiral Herbert was, in every respect, the fittest man to be entrusted with that command; and, therefore, if nothing else would content him, it might not proceed from pride, from ambition, or ill-humour, but from his making a right judgment of things, and knowing that nothing could contribute so much to the success of the enterprise; yet, of the two, it is infinitely more probable, that he did not insist upon this himself, but that the States and the prince of Orange conferred the command upon him as a thing which they saw to be very expedient, or rather absolutely necessary.

It was certainly a very extraordinary undertaking in all respects, and will appear so, if we reflect that a great army was to be embarked; that seven hundred transports were to be prepared for that embarkation; that provisions, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the service, as well of the army as of the fleet, was to be procured in a short time, and with the utmost secrecy; all which was actually done by the indefatigable diligence of four commissioners, *viz.* Bentinck, Dykvelt, Van Hulst, and Herbert: it is plain, therefore, that his skill in directing what was requisite for the fleet was entirely relied on; and, if he had been such a haughty, morose, overbearing person, he could have hardly maintained a fair correspondence with his colleagues for so long a space as they were engaged in making these preparations; as to which, our historian tells us, that they were two months constantly employed in giving all the necessary orders, which they did with so little noise, that nothing broke out all that time.

After such an instance of his .capacity and indefatigable care, they might well expect that the rest of his conduct would be of a piece. But what seems farther to explain the real intention of the States and the prince of Orange in trusting Vice-admiral Herbert, though a stranger, with so high a command was, the publishing his letter to the commanders of the English fleet at the very same time with the prince of Orange's declaration; for, if they had not placed very strong hopes upon that, without question it had never been published at all, and, if they had such hopes, this alone will sufficiently account for the giving him the chief command under the prince of Orange, to whom, by the nature of his commission, he was lieutenant-general by sea. Neither were these hopes of influencing the English seamen slightly grounded, since the pamphlets written in those times universally agree, that the seamen had a very general and warm aversion to Popery, disliked and despised such of their officers as had embraced that religion, and were very prone in their cups to drink Admiral Herbert's health; so that these were very strong indications of their ill-will on one side and their good-will on the other.

It is however true, that this letter had not the effect that was expected from it, or rather had not such an effect so soon as it was expected; but this was chiefly owing to unforeseen and inevitable accidents; neither can any thing be affirmed about it with much certainty: but as the letter itself is curious, and as it is not commonly to be met with, unless in a French translation, it may not be disagreeable to the reader to find it in the note below; and there is the more reason to insert it, because nothing can have a closer relation to this noble person's memoirs, since it must be allowed to have been the most remarkable and most important paper that ever fell from his pen.*

When every thing was ready, the troops were embarked with so much speed and secrecy, that no advices could be given in England that could be of any use; but notwithstanding this care, the fleet was obliged to return. They sailed on the nineteenth of October, 1688, and were forced back into port on the twenty-second. This was a great disappointment; and, without doubt, had things been managed by a prince of less firmness, or by an admiral of less experience, their expedition would have been lost. It is reported that Admiral Herbert advised putting off the business to that late season of the year, because he judged that the winds would be more favourable; that the king's fleet would be less able to act; and that, when the enterprise was so long delayed, it would be concluded in England to be given over.

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* TO ALL COMMANDERS OF SHIPS AND SEAMEN IN HIS MAJESTY'S FLEET.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE little to add to what his highness has expressed in general terms, besides laying before you the dangerous way you are at present in, where ruin or infamy must inevitably attend you, if you do not join with the prince in the common cause for the defence of your religion and liberties; for should it please God, for the sins of the English nation, to suffer your arms to prevail, to what end can your victory serve you, but to enslave you deeper, and overthrow the true religion in which you have lived, and your fathers died, of which I beg you as a friend to consider the consequences, and to reflect on the blot and infamy which it will bring on you, not only now, but in all after-ages, that by your means the Protestant religion was destroyed, and your country deprived of its ancient liberties; and if it pleases God to bless the prince's endeavours with success, as I do not doubt he will, consider then what their condition will be that oppose him in this so good a design, where the greatest favour they can hope for is, their being suffered to end their days in misery and want, detested and despised by all good men.

It is, therefore, for these and for many other reasons, too long to insert here, that I, as a true Englishman, and your friend, exhort you to join your arms to the prince for the defence of the common cause the Protestant religion, and the liberties of your country.

It is what I am well assured, the major and best part of the army, as well as the nation, will do as soon as convenience is offered. Prevent them in so good an action while it is in your power, and make it appear, that as the kingdom has always depended on the navy for its defence, so you will yet go further, by making it, as much as in you lies, the protection of her religion and liberties; and then you may assure yourselves of all marks of favour and honour, suitable to the merits of so glorious an action. After this I ought not to add so inconsiderable a thing, as that it will for ever engage me to be in a most particular manner,

Your faithful friend, and humble servant,
AR. HERBERT.

On board the Leyden,
in the Goree.

His serene highness came into this proposition for the reasons before assigned, and for one as weighty as any of them, which was more immediately known to, and more fully comprehended by, himself, and this was, that the season of the year for a campaign being over, the French were not likely to make any attempts, and consequently the States-General ran little or no hazard by their troops being thus employed at this juncture. It is on all sides acknowledged, that it was owing to reasons suggested by Admiral Herbert, that the prince of Orange laid aside his intention of sailing northward to the Humber, which must have been attended with great inconveniences, as no fleet could lie long with safety on that coast; but it is not certain whether he gave the advice, which, however, was followed, of publishing in all the Dutch gazettes, that the fleet had been very roughly handled by the storm; that abundance of horses had been thrown overboard; that many persons of distinction, and particularly Dr. Burnet, were cast away and drowned, which had the effect that was expected from it, of persuading such as were not in the secret, that the expedition was totally overthrown, or that it must be postponed for some months at least.

It is very certain, that this unexpected check made many people mighty uneasy, and occasioned some very extraordinary proposals to the prince. Among the rest, one was, that Admiral Herbert, with a stout squadron, should proceed to the English coast, and fight the king's fleet, to which he was not at all averse ; but the weather rendered it impracticable. The prince of Orange, however, never altered his intention in the least; but having given the necessary orders for repairing the ships, and refreshing the troops, which was soon done, the fleet sailed again upon the first of November, and, as we have shewn elsewhere, arrived speedily and safely on the English coast, where, by the skill and care of Admiral Herbert, the troops were very soon landed, and, by his intelligence with several persons of distinction in the neighbourhood, amply supplied with provisions and other necessaries. In a very few days after, the good effects of the admiral's letter appeared by the coming in of several ships, the first of which was the Newcastle, lying at Plymouth, under the command of Captain Churchill; and, the way being once broken, the seamen declared in general for the prince; from all which it fully appeared, how much the success of this great affair was owing to the valour, vigilance, and prudence of this noble person.

On the 8th of March, 1688, King William granted a commission for executing the office of lord high admiral to the following persons; *viz*, Arthur Herbert, Esq. John, earl of Carbery, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Thomas Lee, Bart. Sir John Chichely, Knt. Sir John Lowther, of Whitehaven, Bart. and William Sacheverel, Esq. but the last declined accepting that post, declaring, that, as he understood nothing of maritime affairs, he could not accept the salary with a safe conscience. As for the command of the fleet, that was entrusted with Admiral Herbert from the beginning, and he had likewise the honour of bringing over the new queen.

We have already given an account of his behaviour in the business of Bantry-bay, of the motives which induced him to fight the French fleet, and of the consequences of that action, collected as well from the French, as our historians: but after all, perhaps the reader will not be displeased to see the account published by authority, drawn from the admiral's own letter, from on board the Elizabeth, dated May the second, 1689, and which imported,

"That Admiral Herbert, having refitted at Milford-Haven the damages which some of his ships had sustained by ill weather on the coast of Ireland, intended to go directly for Brest; but the wind coming easterly, which might bring the French fleet out, he stood, on the twenty-fourth past, over to Kingsale, which he judged the likeliest way to meet them.

"That accordingly, on the 29th, our scouts made signal, that they discovered a fleet keeping their wind, which made us, likewise, keep our own all night, to hinder them from getting into Kingsale. The thirtieth, they heard the enemy was gone into Baltimore, being forty-four sail; whereupon ours bore away to that place, but found there was no sign of them. That in the evening, our scouts got sight of them again to the westward of Cape Clear; we steered after them, and found they were got into the Bantry; we lay off the bay all night, and the next morning, by break of day, stood in where we found them at anchor. That they got presently under sail, and bore down upon our fleet in a line composed of twenty-eight men of war and five fire-ships. That when they came within musket shot of the Defiance, the headmost of our ships, the French admiral put out the signal of battle, which was began by them, they firing their great and small shot very furiously on the Defiance and the rest, as we came in our line. That then we made several boards to gain the wind, or at least to engage them closer; but, finding that way of working very disadvantageous, Admiral Herbert stood off to sea, as well to have got our ships into a line, as to have gained the wind of the enemy, but found them so cautious in bearing down, that we could never get an opportunity of doing it; and in this posture continued battering upon a stretch until five in the afternoon, when the French admiral tacked from us, and stood away farther into the bay.

"That Admiral Herbert's ship, and some of the rest, being disabled in their rigging, we could not follow them; but we continued some time after before the bay, and our admiral gave him a gun at parting. In this action, Captain Aylmer in the Portland, who came in soon enough for the battle, with others of the squadron mentioned, and ninety four seamen were killed, and about two hundred and fifty wounded, as appears by a survey taken after the fight; and our ships received little damage, except in their sails and rigging.

"That, as for our officers and seamen, that right must be done them, they behaved themselves with all the courage and cheerfulness that could be expected from the bravest men: and that, on the other side, without lessening the enemy, it may be said, that they either wanted courage or skill to make use of the advantage of the place, the wind, their fire-ships, and their number, being at least double our force, they having eighteen ships, the least of which was as big as the Elizabeth; and it so happened, at the time of the engagement, Admiral Herbert had with him but eight third rates, ten fourth rates, one fifth rate, and two tenders. And that the fleet designed to rendezvous and refit at Scilly."

As to the personal behaviour of Admiral Herbert in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable; he was in the hottest of the service himself, had several of the largest of the enemy's ships upon him at a time, notwithstanding which he continued to expose himself to encourage the seamen, sword in hand upon the quarter deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engagement, insomuch, that many thought, that, if the rest of the officers had done their duty as well as he, they had given a better account of the French than they did: for which some officers were called to a court martial, and broke; so much was the admiral a lover of discipline. On the fifteenth of May, when the king dined on board his ship, he was pleased to express great satisfaction in his conduct, and declared his intention of creating him a peer, as he afterwards did; *viz.* on the twenty-ninth of the same month, by the title of Baron Herbert of Torbay, and earl of Torrington. The House of Commons also were pleased to give him thanks for the service he had done the nation, in taking the first opportunity to fight the French in Bantry Bay.

The reader will, without doubt, be pleased to see this matter set in the most authentic light from the journals of the house, in which it appears that, Arthur Herbert, Esq. then Burgess for the town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, being in his place, had their thanks in consequence of an order made the Saturday before.*

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* *Martis* 21° *die Maii, primo Willielmi et Mariæ.*

Mr. Speaker gave Admiral Herbert the thanks of the house according to their order of Saturday last, to the effect as followeth; *viz.*

"Admiral Herbert,

"This house hath taken notice of the great service you have performed in engaging the French fleet; they do look upon it as one of the bravest actions done in this last age, and expect it will raise the reputation of the English valour to its ancient glory. I do, therefore, by the command of this house, return you their hearty thanks, for this service, and desire that you will communicate the like thanks, in their name, to the officers and seamen that served under your command, and to let them know, that this house will have a particular regard of their merits, and take care, as much as in them lies, to give them all due encouragement."

Whereupon Admiral Herbert spake to the effect as followeth:

"Sir,

"I am in some confusion at this great and unexpected honour, and the more, because I want words to express my sense of it.

As he was at this time possessed of all that a man could well desire, the esteem of his prince, the favour of the people, and the love of the seamen, so it is allowed that he behaved in a manner every way worthy of his station, living very magnificently when in town, and shewing a great respect for his officers when at sea, which gained him a wonderful interest in the fleet; to this, though some have given a sinister turn, as if it was the chief cause of his acquittal by the court martial that tried him, yet impartial judges will hardly believe, that he could have gained such an interest but by an extraordinary degree of merit, and by a readiness to distinguish it in other men, for which, while it was not in some degree cri-

The best return I think myself capable of making is, to assure this honourable house, that, with my utmost hazard I will endeavour, by my future actions, to deserve it, and will not fail to obey their commands, in acquainting the officers and seamen, who were with me, of the favourable acceptation, by this house, of their services. And, since the house have so favourable an opinion of their actions. I would beg their leave to make an humble motion, and I think it is a thing becoming the greatness of this nation, and, indeed, has been the care of almost all nations that have any commerce at sea; it is, *to assign some place and revenue for the support of such as are maimed in the service and defence of their country.* There is no sufficient provision made at present in this kingdom, and indeed it is too great a charge for the crown. I, therefore, humbly move, it may be ordered by this house, that an act may pass, that they may have a support and subsistence, after they have, by wounds, been made incapable of farther service."

> Resolved, That the house will take care to make a provision for such seamen as are, or shall be wounded in their Majesties' service, and for the wives and children of such as are, or shall be slain therein; and that a committee be appointed to consider how the same may be done.

And it was referred to Admiral Herbert, Mr. Hales, Mr. Boscawen, Mr. Ashburnham, Sir William Williams, Mr. Garway, Mr. Elwel, Lord Cooke, Mr. Holles, Mr. Papillon, Mr. Gwyn, Lord Falkland, Lord Sherrard, Mr. Bickerstaff, Mr. Henry Herbert, Mr. Edward Russel, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Thomas Foley, Sir Duncan Colchester, Mr. Leveson Gower, Mr. P. Foley, Sir Henry Capell, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Mr. Sacheverel, Mr. Cooke, and Sir Thomas Littleton.

minal to affirm it, he was generally famous in the navy. When he went down to take the command, in the spring of the year 1690, of the confederate fleet, his character stood as fair as any officer's could do; and even the Dutch, in their relations, allow, that his conduct was very great in shifting and avoiding an engagement in pursuance of the advice of a council of war, founded upon the enemy's great superiority, till such time as he received positive orders to fight; and then he shewed, likewise, great judgment in the disposition he made for an engagement.

We have little to add to the account we have already given of the action off Beachy-head on the 30th of June, except that in the battle there was not so much as one English man of war lost, and but one of the Dutch; that, in the whole course of the retreat, the earl of Torrington gave his orders with great prudence, and in such a manner as prevented the French from making any great advantage of what they called a victory, notwithstanding the inequality of the fleets, and some unlucky accidents that happened in spite of all the precautions that could be taken. Neither was his lordship at all discomposed, when upon his being sent for up to town, he found so general a clamour raised against him, but, on the contrary, gave a very clear account of matters before the council; insisted, that he had done all that was in his power to do, which made him easy in his mind as to the consequences, being persuaded, that, of the two, it was much better for him to ruin himself than to ruin the fleet, as he absolutely must have done, if he had acted otherwise than he did.

All he could say, however, had little effect at that time: so that he was committed to the Tower, and commissioners were sent down to examine into the condition of the fleet, and to make the necessary enquiries for framing a charge against him, it being held absolutely requisite to bring him to a trial, that the justice of the nation might not suffer in the opinion of her allies, the resentment of the Dutch having risen so high as to threaten pulling down the house of Lord Dursley, who then resided at the Hague.

When the parliament met, October the second, 1690, his Majesty was pleased to take notice in his speech, in a very particular manner, of the disaster that had happened off Beachy-head: and the paragraph being but short, we shall insert it; "I cannot conclude without taking notice also how much the honour of the nation has been exposed by the ill conduct of my fleet in the last summer's engagement against the French, and I think myself so much concerned to see it vindicated, that I cannot rest satisfied till an example has been made of such as shall be found faulty upon their examination and trial, which was not practicable while the whole fleet was abroad, but is now put into the proper way of being done as soon as may be." But, notwithstanding this, the proceedings against the earl of Torrington were not very expeditious, and, therefore, he applied himself by way of petition to the House of Peers, who took his case into consideration; but, after having fully debated it, left him to the ordinary course of proceedings, or, in other words referred him to a court martial.

Yet, in order to the constituting of such a court, as we have elsewhere observed, there were some difficulties to be got over, and those of such a nature as demanded the attention of the legislature, in order to effect which, a bill was brought in for vesting in the commissioners of the admiralty the same power in regard to granting commissions, which was already vested by law in the lord high admiral of England.

It may not be amiss to observe, that on the twentieth of January, 1689, the king had appointed a new board of admiralty, in which Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, was first lord instead of the earl of Torrington, and Sir Michael Wharton was left out. On the fifth of June, 1690, the board was again changed, and augmented from five to seven. These were Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, John, earl of Carbery, Sir Thomas Lee, Bart. Sir John Lowther, Bart. Edward Russel, Esq. Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. and Henry Priestman, Esq. and to this board it was that the intended act gave the power of appointing court martials for the trial of any officer of what rank soever, as a lord high admiral might do. When this bill came to be read a third time in the house of peers, it occasioned very warm debates, many lords being of opinion, that it would have been better, if, instead of a new board, his Majesty had appointed a lord high admiral, in which case there would have been no need whatever of a new law; but at length, however, it was carried by a majority of two only; upon which many of the lords entered their protests for the reasons given in the note below.*

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* "Because this bill gives a power to commissioners of the admiralty to execute a jurisdiction, which, by the act of the thirteenth of Charles II. entitled, *An act for establishing articles and orders for the regulating and better government of his Majesty's navy, ships of war, and forces by sea*, we conceive they had not; whereby the earl of Torrington may come to be tried for his life, for facts committed several months before this power was given or desired; we think it reasonable that every man should be tried by that law that was known to be in force when the crime was committed.

"It is by virtue of the said act of the 13th of Charles II. that the earl of Torrington was judged by this house not to have the privilege of a peer of this realm for any offences committed against the said act; and there is no other law, as we conceive, by which the said earl could have been debarred from enjoying the privilege of a peer of this realm; which act making no mention of commissioners of the admiralty, but of a lord high admiral only, by whose authority all the powers given by that act are to be exercised, and without whose consent singly no sentence of death can be executed, we think it of dangerous consequence to expound a law of this capital nature otherwise than the literal words do import: and as we conceive it without precedent to pass even explanatory laws, much less such as have a retrospect in them in cases of life and death, so we think it not at all necessary to make such a precedent at this

As soon as the bill had passed both houses, and had received the royal assent, the earl of Torrington was removed out of the Tower into the custody of the marshal of the admiralty, where he had not been long before he brought his case into the House of Commons. This was done by a member's acquainting the house, that this noble peer was desirous of being heard at their bar in respect to the matter for which he was in custody. Upon this an order was made for his lordship's being brought thither the next day, the serjeant at arms was directed to serve the marshal of the admiralty with a copy of it, which he did accordingly; and, November the 12th, the house being informed, that his lordship was in the lobby, directed him to be brought in by the serjeant, with the mace, to a chair set for him within the bar on the left-hand of the house as he came in; and having sat down thereon for some time covered, and the mace being laid upon the table, his lordship rose, and stood at the back of the chair uncovered, and was heard before the house; after which his lordship withdrew, the mace attending him.

This is all we meet with in the journal; but a writer of those times assures us, that his lordship found himself so much embarrassed in the presence of that assembly, as not to be able to express himself as he intended; upon which he acquainted the Com-

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time there being an undoubted legal way already established to bring this earl to a trial by a lord high admiral.

"Thirdly, the judges having unanimously declared, that the law marine was no where particularized in their books, whereby the power or jurisdiction of the lord high admiral may be ascertained, so that practice is all that we know of it; we conceive it unprecedented, and of dangerous consequence, that the jurisdiction exercised by the lord high admiral should, by a law, be declared to be in the commissioners of the admiralty, whereby an unknown and therefore unlimited power may be established in them.

"Rivers, Huntingdon, Rochester, Weymouth, Stamford, Dartmouth, Oxford, Macclesfield, Thomas Roffen, Crew, Bath, Granville, Herbert, Craven, J. Exton, Bolton, J. Bridgewater."

mons, that, being accustomed rather to act than to speak, he found himself at a loss for words, and therefore desired to make use of his papers, which was allowed him. He then took notice how early he had entered into his country's service; how many years he had spent therein, and of his having spilled much blood, as well as been deprived of his eye, in their quarrel. He proceeded next to the loss he had sustained for supporting the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of England under King James II. Last of all, he spoke of the engagement with the French fleet off Beachy-Head, in respect to which he excused his not fighting, from the want of intelligence, want of ammunition, shortness of wind, inequality of numbers, and, in support of what he said, produced some letters; but all this was of little or no use to his lordship. The house remitted him to that trial for which the late act had made way, and of which the highest expectations were raised at home and abroad, the king being resolved not to embark for Holland till it was all over.

Accordingly, Saturday the sixth of December, 1690, his lordship went down to Sheerness in his yacht, the court-martial sitting there on board the Kent: on Monday, December 8, Sir Ralph Delaval, being in the chair as president, the commission was opened and read, and other preliminaries adjusted; after which the court adjourned to Wednesday the 10th, when the witnesses were heard on the part of the crown, as well Dutch as English: but, notwithstanding the loudness of the common reports, there was very little appeared in proof, though the court took all the pains they could to sift things to the bottom; his lordship then made his defence in the manner that has been before-mentioned, insisted largely on the superiority of the French fleet, on the shifting of the wind, which put it out of his power to succour the Dutch, on the care taken on securing a retreat, and the small advantage that the enemy reaped from their so much boasted success in this action, which had drawn upon their admiral, Count Tourville, as many censures as upon himself, and with pretty much the same reason. After mature consideration, both of the charge, of his defence, and of the evidence offered, the court, *nemine contradicente*, acquitted him wholly of any imputation whatever, from his conduct on that occasion. To which, when required to sign it, they most steadily adhered. It is said, that a certain Dutch rear-admiral, who was present, expressed his resentment very warmly, and it is certain, the proceedings were quickly after printed in Dutch, with some animadversions.

On Thursday, December the eleventh, the earl of Torrington returned to town in his barge, with the union flag flying, as bearing still the king's commission of admiral and commander in chief. He returned to his own house, where he received the compliments of his friends, and the news, which could not much surprise him, that his commission was superseded. He was almost the only victim in that reign, for he never received any mark of favour, much less enjoyed any command afterwards. He came, however, in a few days to the House of Peers, where he constantly attended for above twenty years after, without altering his conduct in the least, which is a manifest proof that he was not governed by caprice, but by principle. He was always on the side of the crown, and very rarely in an opposition to its ministers; sometimes, however, he was, and then he commonly protested, that the reasons of his opposition might appear, and that the world might not ascribe his disagreement with men in power to prejudice or spleen. In matters that related to the navy, he was generally most forward, and in respect to them, the house heard him with respect and attention, and upon such occasions he shewed himself commonly a friend to strict discipline, and a frugal management in the navy.

He raised, while in employment, a considerable fortune, upon which he lived in a manner becoming his rank, during the remainder of his life. His lordship was twice married, but never had any children; and at length, after having spent the latter part of his life in as much privacy and quiet as he had done the former scenes of it in action, he breathed his last, April the 13th, 1716, in a good old age, leaving the bulk of his estate to the right honourable Henry, earl of Lincoln, merely out of respect to that noble person's steady adherence to the same cause which the earl of Torrington supported during his whole life. These particulars, which had hitherto lain scattered in a variety of authors, we have, with the utmost diligence, gathered and digested according to the natural order of time, that the memory of so brave a man might not be altogether buried in oblivion, or that the clamour, which the best of judges thought without foundation, be as fatal to his fame after death, as while living it was to his power.

ANTHONY HASTINGS

Was descended from a very noble family which derives its origin from Robert De Hastings, the father of William, Steward of the Household to King Henry I. The grandson of William, who was also a William, was among the barons summoned to parliament by King John in the first year of his reign. This illustrious race intermarried with the immediate descendants of sovereigns, both of England and France. In the year 1529, George, Lord Hastings, was created earl of Huntingdon. Anthony Hastings having entered into the navy, was, on the 17th of April 1666 appointed first lieutenant of the Assurance. On the commencement of the second Dutch war in 1672, he was made second lieutenant of the Cambridge; in which station he continued to serve till its conclusion. In November 1676, he was promoted to the command of the Quaker ketch: and when the rupture with France was expected in 1678, he became again a lieutenant, being appointed to the Harwich; from which he was, on the 2d of May following, removed to the same station in the Royal Charles, the ship on board which Sir John Kempthorne had hoisted his flag as vice-admiral of the fleet destined for Channel service. The prospect of hostilities vanishing soon afterwards, and a life of inactivity not suiting Mr. Hastings's gallantry, he again solicited employment, which he procured, being appointed, on the 4th of November 1679, lieutenant of the James galley, one of the vessels soon afterwards stationed in the Mediterranean under Admiral Herbert. This commander, on the 23d of August 1680, removed him into the Bristol; and on the 22d of April 1681, promoted him to the command of the Sapphire. In September following in company with the James galley, commanded by Captain Shovel, he fell in with and captured a large Algerine Corsair, called the Half-Moon, carrying thirty-two guns, and three hundred and eighty men. Engagements with pirates had always been long and desperate. This was rendered particularly obstinate from the lieutenant's being an English renegado, who, knew he could expect no mercy. He was hanged immediately after the enemy's ship was taken possession of. From the time Captain Hastings quitted the command of the Adventure, which is a period not known, he does not appear to have been employed till the very eve of the Revolution. On the 12th of October 1688, he was appointed commander of the Woolwich, and had the fortune to capture two of the vessels of the Dutch armament which the fleet of James, powerful as it was, was able to intercept. Notwithstanding he had thus faithfully adhered to the interest of his sovereign while he retained possession of the throne, he had patriotism sufficient to assist heartily in the revolution and arrangement of government, which took place immediately on his deserting it. William was so well assured of his honour and integrity, that he promoted him, after his accession, to the command of the Essex, of seventy guns. In the following year he was removed into the Sterling Castle, which he commanded at the battle of Beachy Head. The year 1691 ingloriously passed away without any engagement, the French avoiding a second trial of their prowess, in which they might probably lose the little temporary credit they had gained the preceding summer. The year 1692 will ever be remembered, by Englishmen, as the æra of one of those victories which have established, on a foundation not to be shaken, her naval credit and consequence. At the battle of La Hogue Captain Hastings commanded the Sandwich, of ninety guns, and fell, towards the conclusion of the first day's fight, having deservedly acquired, and uniformly supported the character of a brave and truly honest man. His body was brought a-shore at Portsmouth, and conveyed to London for interment.

JOHN NEVILLE

WAS, as it were, by descent a naval commander, his ancestor being Gilbert De Neville, a Norman, who was admiral of the fleet to William, surnamed the Conqueror. John Neville was the great-grandson of Henry Neville, seventh Lord of Abergavenny; and going early in life to sea, was, in the year 1673, made lieutenant of the Ruby, a ship of fifty-four guns taken from the French by Sir Thomas Allen. After various removals he was, on the 14th of August 1686, commissioned to the Crown, in which ship he sailed for Cadiz and the Mediterranean on the 26th of the same month, under the command of Sir Roger Strickland; and he returned to Europe with that admiral in the beginning of the following year. On the 25th of September 1688, he was appointed to command the Elizabeth. The preparations of the prince of Orange alarming all the fears of James, he adhered strenuously to the former, which is the less to be wondered at in him, as, independently of every other consideration, he had a strong personal attachment to Herbert, afterwards earl of Torrington, the first and most zealous among the partizans of William. At the battle off Beachy-Head he commanded the Sovereign, being chosen by Torrington as an officer of whose abilities he entertained the highest opinion, and in whose friendship, he placed the most unlimited and well-deserved confidence, a confidence he appears to have merited, as well by his gallantry, as by the clear and honest testimony he bore, in spite of clamour, to the earl's prudence, ability and fortitude. The services of Captain Neville were not confined to the duties of a naval command, for, in the month of October 1690, following the example of the brave duke of Grafton, he landed, as a volunteer, at Cork, which was then besieged by the English army under the earl of Marlborough. He was present at the attack of the breach made by Brigadier Churchill, and, as the post of most honour and danger, marched, with the grenadiers under Lord Colchester, who led the assault. In the month of July 1693, he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue; and having hoisted his flag on board the Neptune, sailed with a small squadron into the North sea, to counteract any equipment the French might make from Dunkirk. He was soon recalled and sent, in the month of December following, to the Straits under the command of Sir Francis Wheeler. He hoisted his flag on board the Royal Oak, and narrowly escaped destruction in that dreadful storm, on the 19th of February, when Sir Francis perished, with his ship, the Sussex, and several others of his squadron. Neville saw the danger and used every means to acquaint his companions of it, but unhappily with little success. He having the Straits open, stood through them to the westward; and running over to the Barbary shore, under which he had smooth water and was protected from the violence of wind, here he continued in safety till the weather became moderate, and he was enabled to stand back to Gibraltar, where he received the melancholy intelligence of his admiral's misfortune. The shattered remains of the squadron being collected, it was resolved to return to Cadiz to refit. The latter end of June Admiral Russel arrived from England, and dispatched a frigate into Cadiz, with orders to Mr. Neville to join him off Cape Spartel; which he did on the 30th of June. The fleet continued its course to the Mediterranean. In the month of February, 1694, or early in March, Rear-admiral Neville was detached, with a strong squadron, to cruize off Cape Spartel, that he might intercept any squadron Tourville might attempt to send through the Straits to Brest. The French admiral having too much caution to risk so hazardous a measure, the cruise was fruitless. On his return, the whole fleet sailed again for the Mediterranean; and the rear-admiral was detached with a squadron to Final, to convoy from thence to Catalonia several thousand German and Italian troops which were to serve in that province. He sailed from Final on the 23d of June, and was met by the main fleet, under Russel, off Toulon. They proceeded together to Barcelona, where they arrived on the 19th of July. The dilatoriness of the Spaniards proved a severe impediment to the operations, so that, notwithstanding every possible assistance that could be rendered them by Neville, who had been connected with them, as well as every other aid on a larger scale that could be afforded them by Russel, the campaign ended as disgracefully to them as their want of energy and spirit could render it. No probability existing of farther service, the allied fleet returned to Cadiz. In the month of October Sir George Rooke, who was appointed to relieve Russel, arrived at Cadiz; and Neville having removed his flag into the Neptune continued to serve with him in the same station he had under his predecessor. During the ensuing summer Mr. Neville was employed as commander of a small cruising squadron stationed between Cape Clear and Cape Finisterre for the protection of our commerce, which commerce having sustained no signal disaster during this period, as it is a convincing proof of the vice-admiral's attention, so is that attention an object of sufficient consequence and praise. In the month of October he was promoted to be a vice-admiral, and appointed commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. He accordingly sailed on the 3d of November, with a squadron of fifteen English and Dutch ships of war, having a fleet of merchant-men bound for Cadiz under his convoy. During his passage he met with such unfavourable weather, that his whole fleet was separated and dispersed. Several of the merchant-vessels were lost; and the remainder, together with the ships of war, arrived at Cadiz, at different periods, and in a shattered state. The fleet had scarcely sailed from England, when intelligence was received in England, that the French court had formed a project, of surprising the Spanish galleons. This was to be executed by a squadron dispatched from Europe under the command of the Sieur Pointis, to co-operate with M. Du Casse, who was already at Hispaniola and had himself planned the expedition. The Spaniards being at that time the allies of England, it became necessary to support, and, protect them. A small force was dispatched, under Commodore Mees, to Madeira; and the vice-admiral was directed, by secret instructions, to join it with the Mediterranean squadron, after he had convoyed a fleet of homeward bound merchant-ships to a certain latitude. This junction being effected, the admiral arrived safe at Barbadoes on the 17th of April 1697; but the fleet was dispersed, though without any ill-consequence attending the separation, for the greatest part of the ships, the Dutch excepted, arrived in the West Indies before the commander-in-chief. The Dutch joining him afterwards, he went down to Antigua, which he reached on the 3d of May. It was here resolved, in a council of war, to proceed to Porto Rico with all possible dispatch, in order to protect the galleons. However, before the fleet could reach its destination, intelligence was received that M. De Pointis had sailed from Hispaniola with a force of twenty-six ships of different rates. This news occasioned an alteration of measures; and it was unanimously agreed to proceed to Jamaica, to protect the island, which was now thought one of the first objects of the French attack. On the 15th of May, the squadron being off the east end of the island, the vice-admiral received information by a sloop, that a report prevailed of the French squadron having attacked Carthagena: in consequence of which intelligence he stayed no longer at Port Royal than was necessary to take on board a supply of water. This being done, he sailed for Carthagena, attempting to pass through the leeward passage. Contrary winds blowing from a quarter very unusual in that part of the world, retarded his progress many days. During the interval a sloop came in, that left Porto Bello with the galleons, which were fifteen in number, and were then making for Jamaica to get a supply of provisions, of which they were much in want. The vice-admiral dispatched two sloops in search of them, with information that he was then on the point of proceeding to Carthagena in search of De Pointis, and should from thence soon return to Jamaica. On the 27th of May, the allied squadron being about half channel over in its way to Carthagena, got sight of De Pointis, who was on his return to Europe laden with plunder. The vice-admiral immediately gave chace; and the Warwick, one of the squadron, got so near as to engage, one of the French ships, which being the better sailer of the two unfortunately effected his escape. The Warwick, however, captured a fly-boat, on board which was found plate to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, a most unequivocal proof of the immense treasure which the French were bearing off. The pursuit was continued five days without effect, when five of the ships, among which were those of the two admirals, having sprung their topmasts and sustained damage in their sails and yards, the vice-admiral very reluctantly discontinued a pursuit, from which there was so little prospect of success. Disappointed in his hope of engaging the enemy, and depriving them of their ill-acquired wealth, he turned his thoughts to Carthagena, whither he resolved to shape his course, to see if the galleons were safe, and if he could render any service to the Spaniards, in their then distressed state. The fleet next proceeded to Hispaniola, and on its passage thither had the good fortune, which was almost the only instance in which any had attended it during the voyage, to capture several vessels and some of the enemy's privateers, two or three of which were of considerable force. Three days after the fleet arrived at Hispaniola, the governor of Jamaica suggested an expedition against Petit-Guavas; Rear-admiral Mees was accordingly detached on that service, in which he was completely successful. Mr. Neville having wooded and watered his squadron, sailed in search of Mees, whom he joined the 30th of June. He then steered for Jamaica, intending, to proceed to the Havannah in quest of the galleons, of which he had as yet received no authentic information. On the 17th of July Rear-admiral Mees died, an event, which was the less extraordinary as a most dismal mortality prevailed both among the officers and men. On the 22d of the same month Mr. Neville, with the squadron, arrived off the Havannah. He immediately made his situation and wants known to the governor, who not only peremptorily refused the fleet admittance into the port, but denied that relief to necessitous distress which, putting every other consideration aside, humanity alone ought to have taught him to administer. As an additional affront to the honour of the British nation, when the vice-admiral informed the general of the galleons, which had reached the Havannah in safety, that he was arrived there in order to conduct and convoy them to Europe, for which purpose alone the expedition had been undertaken, the Spaniard in plain terms, excused himself from accepting the protection offered, by returning for answer, that he had received no instructions that warranted him in accepting his protection. The behaviour of the Spaniards, added to the ill-success that appears uniformly to have attended this expedition, brought a dejection of spirits on the vice-admiral which at last terminated in a fever. This encreased during his passage to Virginia, whither he repaired with his squadron, to seek that refreshment which the allies of his country had denied him; although the ships he commanded had many of them, been purposely equipped, and all of them dispatched to encounter an enemy, and, what was much more formidable, disease, for the special succour of those allies, and to preserve their property from destruction. The death of the vice-admiral, which took place soon after he reached Virginia, closes this melancholy scene: a death, occasioned more by grief than distemper. He had flattered himself that the protection of the Spanish treasure, as it formed the principal object of his instructions, would obliterate the remembrance of those disappointments which he had before encountered, and which he knew were fully sufficient to excite the clamour and discontent of his countrymen. Disappointed in this, his last hope, and reflecting, with heart-felt sorrow, on the little service effected by a squadron, so strong as that put under his command, feelingly sensible of the fruitless expenditure of his country's treasure on this occasion, and truly commiserating the many brave men who had ignobly fallen a prey to an inhospitable, and unwholesome climate, he sunk under this accumulated grief, regretted by all who knew him, as a man of courage, ability, and integrity, and against whom the only charge the bitterest of his enemies could with propriety make, was, that he was unfortunate.

SIR FRANCIS WHEELER.

THIS gentleman was the descendant of a family of some antiquity and very respectable possessions in the county of Kent. Having early attached himself to a sea-faring life, he was, on the 30th of April 1678, appointed second lieutenant of the Rupert, by Vice-admiral Herbert, who was second in command on the Mediterranean station. On May 5th, 1679, he was promoted by Sir J. Narborough, commander-in-chief on that station, to be first lieutenant of the same ship. He appears to have long continued on the Mediterranean station, as we find him removed by Admiral Herbert, who had attained the chief command there, to be first lieutenant of the Bristol on the 6th of April 1680. On the 11th of September following he was promoted, by the same admiral, to be commander of the Nonsuch. In May 1681, while captain of this ship, a circumstance occurred, in itself, indeed, inconsiderable, but from the singular consequences that attended it. The Adventure, Captain Booth, was engaged with an Algerine corsair, who was on the point of submitting when the appearance of the Nonsuch, which was conceived by the enemy to be a ship of their own nation, induced a longer and very gallant resistance, till, at the dawn of the following day, Captain Wheeler, having hoisted English colours, took possession of the pirate, who made not the least resistance. On the 9th of August following, Captain Wheeler was removed into the Kingsfisher, a ship of the same rate, but superior force and size. In the month of October he fell in with the Admiral of Sally, a stout ship and commanded by a man who behaved with a resolution worthy of a more honourable cause than that in which he fought. The engagement was obstinate; but after it had continued some hours the corsair struck, and had in the action received so much damage that she sunk very soon after Captain Wheeler had taken possession of her. On the 25th of August 1683, he was made commander of the Tyger, and was re-commissioned to the same vessel on the 4th of May 1688. In September 1688, when the attack about to be made by the prince of Orange, was raised from suspicion to almost an absolute certainty, Captain Wheeler was appointed, by King James, to command the Centurion, and, as one of the last public acts of his sovereignty, was removed by the same prince, on the 16th of November following, into the Kent. He received the honour of knighthood about this time, and did not long continue in the Kent, as we find him, in the month of April, commanding, as Sir Francis Wheeler, the Rupert. He was dispatched from Portsmouth, to join Admiral Herbert; but the action of Bantry Bay had taken place, and Herbert was on his return to port before Sir Francis was clear of the channel. He had, however, the good fortune not to return unsuccessful, having captured a large and valuable merchant-ship from St. Domingo, bound to Brest. In the month of July he was detached by Admiral Herbert, lately created earl of Torrington, with twelve ships of war of different sizes, to look into Brest harbour and watch the motions of the French fleet in that port. He had the good fortune during the short time he was employed on this service, to capture a French ship of war, bound with dispatches from the late King James to France, and twenty-six other vessels, from France, bound to Ireland, laden with stores, provisions, and ammunition, for that prince's army.

At the battle off Beachy Head he commanded the Albemarle of ninety guns, the tenth ship in the British line, and had now attained so high a character, that, in 1692, he was, although a very young officer, made rear-admiral of the blue, and appointed commander-in-chief of a squadron sent to the West Indies, with a privilege, which had been for some years disused, of wearing the union flag at his main-top-mast head as soon as he was clear of soundings. The squadron, arrived on the 26th of January 1692-3 at Madeira, but did not reach Barbadoes till the 1st of March. It was there resolved in a council of war that Martinico should be immediately attacked; and information was, in consequence, dispatched to General Codrington, of the arrival of the squadron, that he might collect the forces, intended to be raised by the colonies as auxiliaries to the regular troops sent from Europe. The fleet, having taken on board the troops raised at Barbadoes, sailed from thence on the 30th of March, and anchored in the Cul de Sac Marine at Martinico on the 1st of April. The necessary dispositions for landing the troops being made on the 16th, they were all put on shore on the following day, and after a few inconsiderable skirmishes with the enemy, possessed themselves of an eminence which gave them the command of all the adjacent country, On the following day the field-pieces were landed, and on the 19th the enemy hazarded a sally on some of the out-posts: they were, however, driven back with considerable loss, and in particular that of their commanding officer. Thus far every thing appears to have worn a favourable aspect; but, as is almost universally the case in expeditions of this nature, the troops began at this time to grow sickly, and in so great a degree that, at a council of war held on the 20th, it was resolved not to attempt the fort, which was a regular fortification, but to re-embark the troops, and repair with them to Dominica, where they might get water; and where, it was hoped, the mortality which prevailed, might be, in some degree, stopped. Such was the end of an expedition, on the success of which the greatest expectations had been formed at home, and in which the loss by the sword did not exceed one hundred and twenty men, while, during the same period, nearly a thousand either absolutely fell miserable victims to disease, or were rendered incapable of service. On his return, Sir Francis, was almost immediately promoted to be rear-admiral of the red, and soon afterwards to be commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, a preferment which he obtained purely by his merit. The squadron destined for the Straits, which was put under his command in the month of November, consisted of twenty ships of war and frigates: but Sir Francis was still the child of misfortune; he was detained a month by contrary winds and the want of stores, so that he did not sail till the 27th of December; and even then is said, to have been obliged to leave behind two or three of his smaller ships to convoy the store-ships and victuallers, which were destined to attend him but were not ready to sail. On the 29th he was joined, off Plymouth, by the Warspight and Chatham, with about twenty merchant-ships from the same port bound to the Straits. This passage was very favourable and expeditious, for on the 4th of January, the fleet had advanced as far as Cape Finisterre; at which time Sir Francis detached the ships bound to Oporto, with a proper convoy to attend them. Two days afterwards, having received information that five French ships of war were cruising between the rock of Lisbon, and Cape St. Vincent, he ordered, five third and fourth rates, together with a fire-ship, to attend the Lisbon and St. Ubes ships into those ports. After this, the fleet being then near Cape St. Vincent, four large French ships were seen at the close of the evening: Sir

Francis instantly made the signal for a proper number of his ships to chace; but the French ships outsailing those which were detached in pursuit of them, and very foul, thick weather coming on, a signal was made for the ships to discontinue the chace, in order that they might not lose company with the fleet. In consequence of the enemy's too successful flight, it was immediately resolved, in a council of war, that Rear-admiral Neville, in the Royal Oak, with the Warspight, York, Chatham, and two Dutch ships of seventy guns each, with two fire-ships, should stand away for Cape St. Vincent in hopes of falling in with the French and having cruised in that station some days they should endeavour to join the ships of war which were expected to return about that time, from convoying the Lisbon and St. Ubes fleet. They were all to proceed in company for Cadiz. The admiral arrived at Cadiz, having had the good fortune, which appears to have been the greatest instance of it that ever attended him through life, of carrying safe into Cadiz one hundred and sixty-five merchant-ships under his convoy, the whole number except one that had sailed with him from England. Sir Francis, having appointed the convoy which was to return to England under the command of Vice-admiral Hopson, put to sea on the 10th of February, intending to sail for the Mediterranean; but the wind coming contrary, he was obliged to bear away for the Bay of Bulls, where he anchored. On the 17th he sailed again, and lay-to the same evening off Gibraltar with the wind at west: about two the next morning he again made sail with the wind northerly. About seven the wind suddenly came round to the southward, but soon flew back to the northward again. Before eight it blew hard from the east-north-east, accompanied with much thunder and rain; and soon increased to such a storm that the fleet was obliged to bear away to the southward. In the course of the following night the ships of the squadron were all dispersed; many of them mistaking the Bay of Gibraltar for the Straits' mouth, were driven on shore and totally lost; others, who escaped that species of destruction, experienced a fate no less horrible, by foundering at sea. Among this number was the Sussex, the admiral's ship, every person on board of which perished, two Moors excepted. "Thus perished," says his biographer, "and in a way which even his enemies must have lamented, the brave, though unfortunate, Sir Francis Wheeler, a man, from the undeserved clamour raised against him, most truly entitled to universal compassion; but that the calumny of discontented men leaves behind it no stain. The sponge of time washes off the temporary soil, nor suffers the smallest trace to remain of its having ever existed. The body was embalmed, and sent to England for interment."

HENRY, DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Henry, Duke of Grafton, the first who bore that title was the natural son of King Charles II. by Barbara Villiers, duchess of Cleveland, and was born on the 20th of September 1663. He was made a peer of England in August 1672, by the titles of Baron of Sudbury, Viscount Ipswich, and Earl of Euston, all in the county of Suffolk; and in September 1675, was created Duke of Grafton, in the county of Northampton. Discovering great propensity to the naval service, he went early to sea as a volunteer under Sir John Berry; so that, having been on the 31st of August 1680, elected knight-companion of the most noble order of the garter, being then at sea, he was obliged to be installed by his proxy, Sir Edward Villiers, knight, afterwards Earl Jersey. This ceremony took place on the 30th of September following. On the 15th of December

1681, he was elected, by the corporation of the Trinity House, one of their elder brethren; and was appointed colonel of the first regiment of foot guards. His promising talents, and zeal to distinguish himself, were such as to induce his royal father to declare him, on the 13th of January 1683-4, when he was not yet twenty years old, vice-admiral of England. This office was merely honorary, and of a civil nature, so that we are not to be surprised at finding him appointed a private captain, as commander of the Grafton, a third-rate of seventy guns, on the 18th of April 1683. In the same month he was constituted admiral and commander-in-chief of his Majesty's fleet in the narrow seas. On the 20th of October 1684, he was sworn recorder of St. Edmondsbury, in Suffolk, an honorary, and introductory appointment to that more eminent one of lord-lieutenant of the same county, which he received on the 6th of May 1685. He was also invested with the offices of remembrancer of the first-fruits, ranger of Whittlebury-forest in Northamptonshire, and game-keeper at Newmarket. He was constituted lord high-constable of England for the coronation of his natural uncle, King James II. When his half-brother, Monmouth, landed in the west, the duke's regiment formed a part of the army, sent down to oppose him. His grace accompanied them as their colonel, and behaved with great gallantry at the action in Philips-Norton-lane, in Somersetshire, where he had a very narrow escape.

Soon after the landing of the prince of Orange, the duke was one of the Protestant peers, then in London, who, in conjunction with the archbishops of York and Canterbury, signed a petition to King James, "that in deep sense of the miseries of war, &c. they thought themselves bound in conscience, and out of the duty they owe to God, their holy religion, &c. most humbly to offer to his Majesty, that, in their opinions, the only visible way to preserve his

Majesty, and his kingdom would be the calling a parliament regular and free in all respects." His grace, with the Lord Churchill, were the first who resorted to the standard of the prince of Orange. This they effected on the 19th of November, at the time King James was at Salisbury. The early countenance shewn to a weak and infant cause was repaid by the prince with his most unlimited confidence; so that when James withdrew from Whitehall, the duke was dispatched from the camp, at Henley, to take possession of Tilbury-Fort with his regiment of foot-guards. As a proof of the moderation of the duke's principles, and his hope that some future alteration of conduct might reconcile the people of England to their former sovereign, when, after the meeting of the convention it came to be debated in the House of Peers, "whether, the throne being vacant, it ought to be filled up by a regent or a king?" the duke was one of the forty-nine who voted for a regent. The sense of his countrymen was against him; and, too wise to oppose the general wish, he hesitated not, and, indeed, he appears to have been influenced by the foregoing considerations only, to acknowledge the prince and princess of Orange, king and queen of Great Britain. His example was immediately followed by the duke of Ormond, the duke of Northumberland, and others of scarcely less honourable note. At the coronation of his new sovereigns he carried the orb: and soon afterwards returning to the naval service, after having, more than once, been appointed admiral of the fleet, and having held for several years the commission of vice-admiral of England, we find him in the station of a captain as once more commander of the Grafton, at the battle off Beachy-Head. He distinguished himself during this unfortunate and unequal contest in no less eminent a degree than might well be expected from a man of great courage and gallantry. He sailed in the month of September following for Cork, still holding the same station and command as before. His active spirit, and thirst of glory led him to head the troops which were landed at Passage on the 23d of the same month. A breach being effected by the 28th, and the enemy shewing no disposition to capitulate, four battalions, under Brigadier Churchill, were ordered to storm it. The grenadier companies, commanded by Lord Colchester, led the van. The duke of Grafton, and several other naval officers, inspired by his example, accompanied them, as volunteers, on this desperate service. The attack was too violent to leave room for long resistance: the enemy abandoned their works, and beat a parley, though not before the brave and unfortunate duke had received a desperate wound, of which he died on the ninth of October following. As soon as the city of Cork had capitulated, the greatest part of the fleet returned, and the duke was left with the chief command, a trust which he did not, as has been just related, long enjoy, and which, indeed, he was never in a condition to undertake. His corpse was brought to England in the ship he had commanded, and buried at Euston, in Suffolk. His grace married the Lady Isabella, only daughter, and, at length, heiress to Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, viscount Thetford, &c. By this lady he had issue one son only, Charles, earl of Euston, born the 25th of November 1683, who succeeded his father as duke of Grafton.

SIR JOHN ASHBY

Was descended from a family in a mercantile line, which had been, for a considerable time, settled at Lowestoffe, in the county of Suffolk. His first appointment in the navy was as lieutenant of the Adventure: this was in the year 1665. In 1667 he was removed, in the same station, on board the Princess:

and in October 1668 was promoted, by the duke of York, to the command of the Deptford ketch. In 1670 he was still farther promoted to the Advice, a fourth rate. In 1671 he was removed into the Rainbow; and in the following year into the Pearl, a frigate of twenty-eight guns. In February 1672-3, on his return from Jersey, whither he had carried Sir Thomas Morgan, newly appointed governor thereof, he fell in with a large privateer, of equal force, belonging to Middleburgh. An action took place, and continued upwards of two hours, when the Dutchman was completely vanquished: but the wind was at that time so violent as totally to prevent the Pearl's boats from boarding her; Captain Ashby was consequently robbed of his prize. As some consolation under this disappointment, he next day retook the Ruby, a ship of two hundred tons and twenty guns, that had been captured a few days before by a Dutch privateer off Scilly. On the 21st of June following he was promoted, by Prince Rupert, to command the Lyon, as successor to Captain Fowles, who had fallen in the action of the 28th of May. Early in the year 1685, he was made captain of the Montague; from which ship he was, on the 27th of September in the same year, removed into the Henrietta guard-ship; and again, on the 6th of March following into the Mordaunt. On the 15th of September 1688 he was appointed to the Defiance, one of the ships fitted for channel service, under Lord Dartmouth. Warmly attached to the constitutional liberty of his country, immediately on the revolution taking place he became a firm adherent to William III. He continued to command the Defiance, and led the van of the squadron, at the battle of Bantry Bay. His gallantry was so conspicuous on this occasion, that when King William went to Portsmouth for the special purpose of thanking all, and rewarding those whose behaviour had been more particularly noticed, he conferred on Captain Ashby the honour of knighthood; and, as a farther token of his esteem, presented him with a watch set with diamonds. In the month of July following, he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue, and went to sea in that station when the fleet sailed under Lord Torrington: but no action took place during the remainder of the year. In the following spring the French, elated with the trivial appearance of advantage, that they had recently gained, left no effort untried to fit out a fleet so formidable as to bid defiance to the force of the English, and pursue, at least in idea, that scheme of conquest which Louis XIV. so chimerically pleased himself with the hope of. The fleet of France consisted of eighty-two ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and small vessels. The combined fleets of England and Holland, which were to oppose this formidable force, consisted of no more than fifty-six ships under the chief command of Herbert, earl of Torrington. Sir John Ashby, who had been raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the red, served in that station during this engagement, and led the van of the earl of Torrington's division; but he was totally free from any part of that censure which was so loudly excited by the failure of success, and which roused the indignation and violence of party against the great but unfortunate earl of Torrington. When the earl of Torrington had effected his retreat, he left the command of the fleet with Sir John Ashby, and repaired to London, having first given the necessary instructions how to act in case the French should attempt to force their way up the Thames. There was no necessity for this precaution, for the French, satisfied with a nominal triumph, retired to their own coasts, and were seen no more in the Channel. But to have been honoured with such a command, and at so critical a period, is a convincing proof how high the abilities of Sir John were estimated both by his commander-in-chief, and the public. It was thought necessary, when the fleet again put to sea, to invest the chief command in three persons who should jointly execute the office; these were Sir Richard Haddock, Vice-admiral Killegrew, and Sir John Ashby; they hoisted their flag on board the Royal Sovereign. But no enemy appearing, the first and second rates were sent into port in consequence of the near approach of winter; and the joint admirals, with the remainder of the fleet, having taken on board the earl of Marlborough and a body of land-forces, steered for Ireland, where they quickly reduced the city of Cork and town of Kingsale, the two principal posts held for King James in the southern part of that kingdom. In the following year every exertion was made to retrieve the disgrace of the preceding one, by sending a powerful fleet to sea early in the spring. The chief command of it was bestowed on Admiral Russel; and Sir John Ashby was appointed to serve under him as vice-admiral of the red. But the French, satisfied with the honour they had already gained, gave the combined fleets of England and Holland no possible opportunity of retaliating upon them, for their temporary triumph and much-boasted victory. Early in the year 1692 Sir John Ashby was promoted to be admiral of the blue; and the French court having projected an invasion of England, in order to promote the cause and interests of the late King James, Admiral Russel put to sea on the 16th of May, in order to counteract and defeat their intentions. The two fleets met on the 19th of the same month, an epoch ever to be remembered as the day on which the French fleet were totally defeated, and a final period put to the hopes of the exiled sovereign. Hazy weather, and a calm, prevented a considerable part of the combined fleet, which was much more numerous than that of the French, from closing with them; so that the force actually brought into action with the enemy, was considerably inferior to them. The blue squadron in particular, never had any opportunity of engaging till six o'clock in the evening, an hour after the French line was broken. Joining at that time in the pursuit, the squadron under Sir John Ashby had the merit of completing that confusion which the gallantry of their companions had so successfully been the first occasion of. The pursuit continued on the twentieth, and on the twenty-first, several of the enemy's ships being closely pressed by Sir John, ran, at the utmost hazard, through the race of Alderney. It was not deemed advisable to pursue them, as the pilots refused to take charge of the ships any longer if their commanders should persist in steering so dangerous a course. This broken remnant of the French fleet made good its retreat into St. Maloe's; and their good fortune exposed Sir John to much obloquy: but he had the happiness to clear himself, in the handsomest manner, from every possible imputation both on his courage and his general conduct. A few days after the action, he was detached, by Admiral Russel, with twelve ships of the line and three fire-ships; to which were added an equal number of Dutch ships, to scour the coast of France, and endeavour to destroy such ships of their broken squadrons as might have taken refuge in their inferior ports. He returned soon afterwards without having met with any success, owing, merely, to the very advantageous situation of the enemy; and what was, perhaps, a still greater protection to them, a series of storms and tempests. Certain intelligence having been received that the French vice-admiral of the blue had got safe into St. Maloe's with twenty-five ships besides the flag, Sir John Ashby was again detached, with one first-rate, six second-rates, seventeen third-rates, one fourth-rate, and four fire-ships, together with several Dutch ships of war. He was ordered over to the coast of France, and instructed to cruise about fifteen leagues north from the west end of the Isle of Bas, so that, by stationing some of his ships nearer the shore, he might intercept any of the enemy's ships that should endeavour to pass from St. Maloe's to Brest. He remained on this station, as long as the weather permitted him, but again without success. When the parliament met, the late memorable action, and its consequences, were among the first subjects of discussion. On the 19th of November he was examined at the bar of the House of Commons relative to the escape of the French ships into St. Maloe's, and gave so satisfactory an account of the proceedings of the ships under his command both in, and after the engagement, that the speaker, by direction of the House, informed him they were much pleased with his very ingenuous behaviour. Honourably acquitted from the very unfounded charge of misconduct, he returned, in the ensuing spring, to his command. The office and rank of admiral of the fleet was again vested in three persons, Henry Killegrew, Esq. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and Sir Ralph Delaval, as it had been in the year 1690, after the action off Beachy Head. Experience shewed, that however high the three joint commanders-in-chief might individually stand in the opinion of the people, and however capable each of them, separately, might have been to so extensive a charge, the office is of such a nature as does not admit of its being divided, or executed with propriety and energy by more than one person. The possibility of shifting the charge of any supposed misconduct from one to the other is, by that means, totally obviated; the nation can resort at once to the author of its disgrace and misfortune; and the admiral-in-chief himself, while he is conscious of the high trust with which he is invested, exerts, in their utmost extent, his abilities and spirit, knowing that the smallest failure in his enterprise endangers, for ever, his credit and honour. The misfortune which marked the naval transactions of this year; *viz.* the capture of the Turkey fleet has prevented, ever since, a repetition of the same absurdity.

The death of Sir John prevented the mortification of his hearing the misfortune which befel his very gallant brother commander, Rooke, in Lagos Bay, the news of which did not arrive till four days after his decease. His body was interred at Portsmouth, where he died; but being afterwards taken up, was finally buried in Lowestoff church, where a handsome monument has been erected to his memory, with the following inscription:

Sacred to the memory of
Sir John Ashby, Knight,
Prefect at the courts of Sandgate;
On whom, for his unshaken fidelity and approved of
Valour, in the engagement with the French, at
Bantree Bay,
Where he gloriously fought for his king and country,
His Majesty conferred the honour of knighthood.
He afterwards gave many signal examples of his bravery
and skilfulness in naval affairs;
By which he obtained the post of admiral and commander
In chief of the royal navy, and general of marines.
Adorned with these honours,
He exchanged earthly glory for immortality,
12th July, 1693.

EDWARD RUSSEL,

EARL OF ORFORD,

Was the son of Edward Russel, fourth son of Francis, earl of Bedford, by Penelope his wife, daughter of Moses Hill, Esq. and widow of Sir William Brooke, Knt. Being destined by his father for the sea-service, he received an education suitable to the pursuit; and, entering at a very early age into the navy as a volunteer, was, when nineteen years old, appointed lieutenant of the Advice; this was in the year 1671. On the commencement of the second Dutch war, he was appointed third lieutenant of the Prince, at that time fitting for the flag of

Sir Edward Spragge. On the 15th of February, 1675, he was appointed commander of the Reserve, and soon afterwards sent on the Mediterranean station. He continued there several years, but without having an opportunity of achieving any considerable exploit. On the 15th of December, 1677, he was removed into the Defiance; and, in March following, into the Swiftsure. He was appointed, on the 10th of August, 1680, commander of the Newcastle; and, from the time he quitted the command of this ship, a period not exactly known, till after the revolution, there is a total vacancy in his naval, though not in his political life. Soon after the accession of King William, Mr. Russel was promoted to be admiral of the blue squadron; and having hoisted his flag on board the Duke, served in that capacity under the earl of Torrington, when he put to sea, after the battle of Bantry-bay. Nothing memorable, however, took place during the time it was prudent for it to keep the sea. On the 1st of December he sailed for Holland with a small squadron of five sail, but contrary winds and stormy weather compelled him to return. Finding the duke, and the third rates of his squadron too large to trust on the Dutch coast at that advanced season of the year, he shifted his flag into a yacht, and sailed again on the 11th, with only three fourth-rates, two frigates, and the Mary yacht. The object of this mission was, to conduct the queen of Spain to the Groyne; and it is thought to have been extremely prejudicial to the interests of the English nation, as the fleet was so long retarded by contrary winds, that the opportunity was lost of blocking up the Toulon squadron, a service that was to have been executed by this fleet. Whether this be true, is not our business to enquire. Admiral Russel arrived in safety at Schonevelt, on the coast of Zealand, but the queen did not embark till the middle of January. The squadron returned to the Downs on the 18th, and Admiral Russel removed into his old ship the Duke. He was detained by contrary winds, and did not sail from Torbay till the 7th of March. After a stormy passage of nine days, he arrived in safety at the Groyne, where, having landed his charge, and made the detachment for Cadiz under the command of Vice-admiral Killegrew, he prepared to return to England, and arrived at Plymouth on the 25th of April. He is said, by all historians who have entered into particulars, to have commanded the blue squadron at the battle off Beachy Head. This is a mistake; the admiral himself was in London at the time, and the blue squadron, was commanded by Vice-admiral Delaval. In December 1690, Mr. Russel was appointed commander in chief of the fleet which had then returned into port for re-equipment against the ensuing summer. When ready for sea, its appearance was truly formidable; it consisted of fifty-seven English and seventeen Dutch ships of the line. Yet such was the delay occasioned by contrary winds, and such was the caution of the French, that the summer passed over in a fruitless repetition of projected attacks on their ports, none of which were ever attempted to be carried into execution. In the following year, the eyes of all Europe were turned, with the utmost anxiety, on an enterprise which was to complete the triumph, or totally defeat the expectations of the miserable and unfortunate exile, James, still styled by the French, King of Great Britain. The preparations for war, which had been languid, or, at least, not exceeding the ordinary course of national contest, on a sudden assumed an appearance of vigour worthy of the great stake for which two nations were to contend. The appearance of victory at Beachy Head, the promised countenance of the numerous partizans of James, who resided in England, the many capricious exceptions taken by persons of the first rank to the conduct of William, all appeared to prognosticate, and even to ensure success. They infused additional spirit into the French nation, till enthusiasm made each individual almost think himself the arbiter on whom the fate of Europe depended. The equipment, destined to carry into execution the projects of Louis, was immense, was worthy a better cause, and an abler conductor. Its force has been variously stated; some representing it as not more than forty-four ships, while others have swelled the account to sixty-three and upwards. The combined fleet evidently out-numbered them: they reckoned no less than ninety-nine sail in their line of battle. Many persons contemplating the force of the allied fleet, and considering the vast inequality of the enemy, may attribute less merit to the English admiral than he really deserves. Superior as was his force, it was not possible to bring into that part of the action, in which the French were first discomfited, numbers equal even to those which they put to flight. Admiral Russel's account, which has been already given in the second volume, is wonderfully plain and modest, as well in respect to the fleet he commanded as the loss of the enemy. We shall, however, add the following short and political account of this ever-memorable action from the pen of Sir John Dalrymple; and we are induced to do it in consequence of the very strong and justificatory remark he makes on the character and conduct of Russel. Tourville, who was in the Royal Sun, carrying one hundred and ten guns, the finest ship in Europe, passed all the Dutch and English ships which he found in his way, singled out Russel, and bore down upon him; but by the reception which he got, he was soon convinced of his mistake, in thinking that an English admiral could, in consideration of any interest upon earth, strike to a French one: yet, though conscious of the inferiority of his fleet, he was ashamed to abandon a situation which his officers in vain advised him to avoid. And the rest of the admirals and the captains, ashamed to abandon their head, joined in the action as fast as they came up, and maintained it, not so much hoping to gain honour, as striving to lose as little as they could. The battle went on, in different parts, with uncertain success, from the vast number of the ships engaged, which sometimes gave aid to the distressed, and at other times snatched victory from those who thought they were sure of it. Allemond, the Dutch admiral, who was in the van, and had received orders to get round the French fleet, in order that no part of it might escape, attempted in vain to obey; and a thick fog at four in the afternoon, separated the combatants from the view of each other."

Signal as was the defeat of the enemy, enough had not been done to content the minds of all. The temporary fury, notwithstanding the want of proper materials to feed and supply it, raged with the utmost violence against Russel. A serious scrutiny into his conduct was commenced in parliament during the winter, and ended highly to his honour. The popular heat was, however, not to be allayed by any measure short of his dismission from his command. This took place in the spring; and with it he resigned also the treasurer-ship of the navy, an office which he had held ever since the year 1689. The ill success of our naval operations during the summer of 1693, occasioned his recall to the service soon as ever the fleet returned into port for the winter: and William, as if to palliate his former dismission, appointed him, in addition to his other trust, on the 2d of May following, first commissioner for executing the office of lord high-admiral. The fleet being ready, Russel hoisted his flag, as commander in chief, on the 1st of May. The operation to be first attempted was, an attack on Brest; a resolution fatal as well as disgraceful to the British arms, and which ended in the destruction of Lieutenant-general Talmash, who commanded, by land, the forlorn hope sacrificed on this melancholy occasion. The grand fleet, under the command of Russel, did not sail from Spithead till the 6th of June. The French failing to render themselves masters of the European seas, had turned their efforts towards the Mediterranean, where the Count De Tourville was ordered to collect all the naval force of France. Thither Russel was sent with a fleet composed of one hundred and thirty-six ships, eighty-eight of which were of the line, and the admiral of France retiring with precipitation to the harbour of Toulon, convinced the neighbouring states of their error, after every means had been used, with temporary success, to impress them with an idea of the naval supremacy of Louis. During the time the fleet continued in the Mediterranean, Russel was attacked by a fever, and reduced so low, that he was obliged to leave the chief command of the fleet for a time, with Vice-admiral Aylmer. But having recovered his health towards the autumn, he resumed the command, and sailed for Cadiz, where he arrived on the 8th of November. Having wintered there, he returned to his former station the following year, where he kept the French in awe. He convinced the nations of the world of the inferiority of the French naval power, when compared to his own; and prevented the detachment of any force sufficient to disturb the tranquillity of the European seas. He returned to England in the autumn, and appeared no more in the character of a naval commander. In 1697, when King William was preparing to go to Holland, Admiral Russel, then first commissioner of the admiralty, was appointed one of the lords justices during his absence, and created a peer by the title of Baron of Shingey, Viscount Barfleur, and Earl of Orford. In 1669 he resigned all his employments, and from this period, till the eighth year of Queen Anne, he concerned himself no farther with public business, than persons of his elevated rank usually do, whether connected with the administration of government or not, which may be readily accounted for, by recollecting that the direction of all naval affairs were confided by Queen Anne, in Prince George of Denmark, who, immediately on her accession, was declared lord high-admiral, a post which he continued to hold till his death. On the 8th of November, 1709, the earl was once more called into public life, being appointed first commissioner for executing the office of lord high-admiral. He was offered on this occasion, the very honourable post of lord high-admiral: this he positively refused taking, though he expressed himself perfectly willing to accept of a share in the direction of it. He did not long, however, continue to hold the post he had accepted, for, soon after the removal of the earl of Godolphin from the office of lord high-treasurer, the earl of Orford resigned his post of first commissioner of the admiralty, and again retired from public life, till the decease of the queen, when he was chosen one of the lords justices to act till the arrival of King George I. from Hanover. This monarch immediately appointed him one of his privy council; and on the 13th of October, recalled him to his former post of first commissioner of the Admiralty, which he continued to hold till the 16th of April, 1717, when he retired altogether from public employment. He died at his house in Covent Garden, on the 26th of November, 1727, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He married the lady Mary, third daughter of William, duke of Bedford; but, leaving no issue, the title became extinct.

We cannot shut up our account of this reign better than by an abstract of the royal navy, as it stood at the decease of King William, that the reader, by comparing it with the abstract at the end of Chapter XVII. may from thence discern how far, notwithstanding so long a war, and so many other interruptions and misfortunes, our naval force increased in the space of thirteen years.

ABSTRACT OF THE ROYAL NAVY, AS IT STOOD DECEMBER 25, 1701.

Rates.	Number.	Guns.	Men.
First	7	714	5,312
Second	14	1,276	8,824
Third	45	3,199	18,561
Fourth	63	3,253	15,329
Fifth	36	1,094	4,680
Sixth	29	542	1,215
	194	10,078	53,921
Fire-ships	8	Tonnage	
Bomb-vessels	13	In Dec. 1688	101,032
Yachts	10	In Dec. 1701	158,992
		Increase	57,960

CHAP. XX.

Containing the Naval History of Great Britain, from the Accession of her Majesty Queen Anne, to the Union of the two Kingdoms.

WE are now come down to that reign, under which the nation was extremely happy at home, and her reputation carried to the greatest height abroad. A reign that will always be remembered with honour, and make a shining figure in our histories, as long as histories shall last: a reign, in the beginning of which all party animosities were buried in oblivion, and the Tories seemed as sensible of the necessity of a war, as the Whigs, and as ready to carry it on; which was the true reason why it was prosecuted for so many years with such vigour and success as had never attended our arms since the glorious days of Queen Elizabeth; and which ought therefore to convince us, that we are never to hope for a thorough domestic settlement, with an effectual support of our just claims to respect and freedom of commerce abroad, until there is a new and undissembled coalition of parties, founded not in private views, but arising from public spirit, and all men are taught to think that he is a public enemy, who avows any other or narrower interest than that of his country.

Queen Anne succeeded to the throne on the eighth of March, 1701-2, in the flower of her age, if we consider her dignity, being then about thirty-eight. She had shewn a very just moderation in her conduct from the time of the Revolution, and knew how to temper her relation to the state, with that which she bore to her family; of which she gave a remarkable instance in the latter part of her life, by procuring the island of Sicily for her cousin the duke of Savoy.

She opened her reign by a very wise and well-considered speech to her privy-council, in which she declared, how sensible she was of the unspeakable loss that the nation had sustained by the death of the late king, and the burden it brought upon herself, which nothing, she said, could encourage her to undergo, but the great concern she had for the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberty of her country: and that no pains should be wanting on her part, to defend and support them, and to maintain the Protestant succession. She expressed plainly her opinion for carrying on the preparations against France, and supporting the allies; and, said, she would countenance those who concurred with her in maintaining the present constitution and establishment.*

In pursuance of this declaration, the queen wrote to the States-general to assure them, that she would follow exactly the steps of her predecessor, in the steady maintenance of the common cause, against the common enemy: and as a farther proof of her sincerity, she appointed the earl of Marlborough, whom the late king had sent ambassador and plenipotentiary to the States, captain-general of her forces, and gave him a blue ribband. She likewise declared Sir George Rooke vice-admiral of England, and Geo. Churchill, Esq. admiral of the blue, in the room of Matthew

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* It is very remarkable, that the conduct of the queen at the beginning of her reign was such, as gave the highest satisfaction to all parties; for she avoided the error of Nero, by not either screwing up the strings of government too high, or letting them run too low. It had been happy for her, and for her subjects, if she had steadily pursued this conduct through the course of her reign, instead of putting herself into the hands of one party first, and then of another; both which had very ill consequences, with respect to her Majesty's quiet, and to the good of her subjects. This reflection I thought necessary here, because, by inserting it, I shall avoid being obliged to say something like it, on several other occasions.

Aylmer, Esq. afterwards Lord Aylmer, whom we have mentioned already, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak very honourably hereafter. These steps were sufficient to demonstrate the reality of the queen's intentions; and therefore we have all the reason in the world to believe, that her Majesty had a very good design in placing her consort, George Prince of Denmark, at the head of the Admiralty; though to do this it was found requisite to remove the earl of Pembroke, then lord high-admiral, who was actually preparing to go to sea. It is true, a large pension was offered him; but his lordship answered, with great generosity and public spirit, that however convenient it might be for his private interest, yet the accepting such a pension was inconsistent with his principles; and therefore, since he could not have the honour of serving his country in person, he would endeavour to do it by his example.*

The new lord high-admiral had a council appointed him by his commission, *viz.* Sir George Rooke, Sir David Mitchell, George Churchill, Esq. and Richard Hill, Esq. who were to assist him with their advice, and also in the execution of his office. How far all this was legal, has been, and, I believe, ever will remain, very doubtful; but at that time no body questioned it, and therefore we shall proceed to shew what was done under it, observing, as near as may be, the order of time in which events fell out, and that method in relating them, which is most likely to set them in a proper point of light.*

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* The advancement of the earl of Pembroke to this eminent dignity of lord high-admiral of England, was not owing at all to court favour, but merely as I have hinted before, to the expediency of laying that board aside, and lodging the power of it in a single hand. There were few of our nobility who could have been competitors for such an office, and none with justice who could be preferred to the earl of Pembroke. He had much prudence, which tempered great vivacity in his constitution, and zeal for the service of his country, which was very observable in all his actions, though he did not make so much shew of it, as others might do in words. He had a steadiness of mind, not to be shaken by power or titles, and a virtue so heroic, as not either the vices of these, or of worse times could corrupt. He shewed, on this occasion, his loyalty as well as spirit; for though he refused a pension, yet, through the course of her reign, he served the queen with the same cheerfulness and fidelity, as if he had retained his post; and therefore, in 1708, when Prince George of Denmark died, her Majesty restored him to it. A full proof of her removing him at this time, from no other motive than that of making way for her consort, who had been several times mentioned for that high post in the late reign.

The first expedition in the new reign, was that of Sir John Munden, rear-admiral of the red, which was intended for intercepting a squadron of French ships, that were to sail from the Groyne, in order to carry the new vice-roy of Mexico to the Spanish West Indies. This design was concerted by the earl of Pembroke; and Sir John was made choice of, on account of the proofs which he had given of both courage and conduct, as well as zeal and diligence, in the service. He sailed on the twelfth of May, 1702, with eight ships of the third rate, the Salisbury, a fourth rate, and two frigates; when he was at sea, he communicated his orders to his captains, which hitherto had been absolutely secret. On the sixteenth he found himself on the coast of Galicia; whereupon he sent the Salisbury and Dolphin to gain intelligence, in which they failed. He then sent them a second time, and they brought off a Spanish boat and a French bark, with several prisoners, who asserted, that there were thirteen French ships of war, bound from Rochelle to the Groyne; and therefore Sir John issued the necessary orders for keeping his squadron between them and the shore, that he might be the better able to intercept them. These orders were issued on the twenty-seventh, and the very next day he discovered fourteen sail between Cape Prior and Cape Ortugal, close under the shore, to whom he instantly gave chace; but they outsailed him very much, and got into the Groyne before he could possibly come up with them. These dates are settled from the minutes of the court-martial, which will be hereafter mentioned.

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* It is not easy to find a reason why, since the illegality of this commission was so quickly suspected, it should afterwards lie so long asleep, and then be revived again, as soon as complaints were made to parliament of the conduct of the navy. Those who advised this commission, and those who drew it, were certainly very much to blame; and since this is a charge of a high nature, and against great men, I think myself obliged to explain it particularly. As King William's creating a lord high-admiral, was a benefit to the public, so Queen Anne's commission was an injury to it. For by appointing Prince George of Denmark a council, she established again that evil which King William took away; and whereas, the powers of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty were settled by an express act of parliament, here was a new board established, vested with like powers; but those unknown to the law, which could take notice only of the lord high-admiral, notwithstanding that this council of his was appointed by his commission.

Upon this he called a council of war, wherein it was concluded, that, since the accounts they had received from their prisoners agreed perfectly well, and seemed to make it clear, that there were no less than seventeen of the enemy's ships of war in the harbour, which was strongly fortified, and had a narrow and dangerous entrance, it was therefore most expedient for them to follow the latter part of their instructions, by which they were directed, in case they could do nothing on the coast of Spain, to repair into the Soundings, there to protect the trade, and to give notice of their return to the Board of Admiralty immediately. This Sir John accordingly did, about the middle of June; but then the squadron being much distressed for provisions, it was found necessary, on the twentieth of that month, to repair into port.*

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* Burchet's Naval History, p. 613, where he observes, that after chacing these fourteen sail into the Groyne, Sir John Munden called a council of war, in which his captains took into consideration;

"1st. The intelligence from a person who belonged to a French merchant-ship, from Rochelle, and some Spaniards taken from the shore; the former affirming, that, when he came from Rochelle, The miscarriage of this design made a very great noise: it was discovered that only eight of the twelve ships that had been chaced into the Groyne, were men of war, and that the rest were only transports: it was also said, that Sir John Munden had called off the Salisbury, when she was actually engaged with a French man of war, and that he had discharged the prisoners he had taken very precipitately. To quash these reports, and to explain the whole affair to the world, which, is, to be sure, the best method in all such cases, the high-admiral, Prince George, issued his commission for a court-martial, for the trial of Sir John Munden, at which several persons of distinction, for their own satisfaction, were present.

This court sat on board her Majesty's ship the Queen at Spithead, on the thirteenth of July, 1702; where were present Sir Cloudesley Shovel, admiral of the white, president, and the captains following; *viz.* Cole, Myngs, Leake, Greenhill, Turvill, Swanton, Good, Mayne, Kerr, Clarke, Ward, Cooper, Bridges, Maynard, Crow, Littleton, and Hollyman, who being all sworn, and having examined the several articles exhibited against Rear-admiral Munden, gave their opinion, that he had fully cleared himself from the whole matter contained in them; and, as far as

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he left there twelve ships of war in the road, ready to sail to the Groyne with the first fair wind; that one of them had seventy guns, one fifty, and all the rest sixty; and that the Faulcon (a fourth rate taken from us the last year) was going thither before them.

"2d. That the Spaniards are very positive the duke of Albuquerque was at the Groyne with two thousand soldiers, and that there were already in that port, three French ships of war of fifty guns each, and twelve more expected from Rochelle; and since both these accounts so well agreed, and it was judged there were seventeen ships of war in the port, that the place was so strongly fortified, and the passage thereinto very difficult, it was unanimously determined, that they could not be attempted there with any probability of success; and that, by remaining in the station, they could not have any prospect of doing service: so that it was judged proper to repair into the Soundings for protecting the trade."

it appeared to the court, had complied with his instructions, and behaved himself with great zeal and diligence in the service. But, notwithstanding this acquittal, it was thought necessary* to lay him aside, that the strictness and impartiality of the new administration might the better appear.

Bishop Burnet indeed charges Sir John Munden roundly with stupidity and cowardice, and blames Sir George Rooke still more, for having recommended such a man.† But Mr. Oldmixon, who was of the same party with the bishop, is pleased to suggest, that it was not so much for any fault he had committed, but because he was not in Sir George Rooke's

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* In the London Gazette, No. 3835, we find the following article: "Windsor, August 9th. The queen having required the proceedings, upon the trial of Sir John Munden, rear-admiral of the red squadron, to be laid before her, and having considered all the circumstances relating to the expedition to Corunna; her Majesty finding that Sir John Munden has not done his duty pursuant to his instructions, does not think fit to continue him in her service, and has therefore declared her pleasure, that his royal highness the lord high-admiral of England, should immediately discharge him from his post and command in the royal navy, and his royal highness has accordingly given the necessary orders for it." See also Sir John Munden's justification of himself in a letter to a worthy friend, dated August 9th, 1702, in the appendix to the first volume of the Annals of Queen Anne.

† This is so harsh a charge, that I find myself obliged to support it, by citing the bishop's own words, which are these:

"Advice was sent over from Holland, of a fleet that had sailed from France, and was ordered to call in at the Groyne. Munden was recommended by Rooke, to be sent against this fleet, but though he came up to them, with a superior force, yet he behaved himself so ill, and so unsuccessfully, that a council of war was ordered to sit on him. They, indeed, acquitted him; some excusing themselves, by saying, that if they had condemned him, the punishment was death; whereas, they thought his errors flowed from a want of sense, so that it would have been hard to condemn him for a defect of that, which nature had not given him. Those who recommended him to the employment, seemed to be more in fault." But Mr. Secretary Burchet, who was better acquainted with all the proceedings on this affair, than the bishop could possibly be, delivers his judgment in these words: "This was a very unlucky accident; yet the same misfortune might have happened good graces, that Sir John Munden was dismissed.* For my own part, I am inclined to believe what the president and council of war declared upon their oaths, that this officer did his duty as far as he possibly could, and it would be a very great satisfaction to me, if I could account as well for every miscarriage that I shall be obliged to relate in the course of this work.

On the fourth of May 1702, her Majesty declared war against France and Spain; and I mention it, because this declaration was thought necessary before the grand fleet sailed; the design of which, as far as I am able to judge, has been hitherto very imperfectly accounted for. The great view of King William, for it was by him the Cadiz expedition had been concerted, was, to prevent the French from getting possession of the Spanish West Indies; or at least to prevent their keeping them long, if they did. With this view he resolved to send a grand fleet, under the command of the then high-admiral, the earl of Pembroke, with a body of land forces under the command of the duke of Ormond, on board, to make themselves masters of Cadiz. By this means, and by the help of a squadron he had sent into the West Indies, and which was to have been followed by another, as soon as Cadiz was taken, he hoped this might

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to any other good officer as well as Sir John Munden, who, to do him justice, had, during his long service in the fleet, behaved himself with zeal, courage, and fidelity; and though himself and all the captains in his squadron, did unanimously conclude, that at least twelve of the fourteen ships which they chaced into the Groyne were men of war, their number agreeing exactly with the intelligence from several persons taken from the shore; yet, even in that case, it is reasonable to think, that he would have given a very good account of this affair, could he possibly have come up with them." Naval History.

* Oldmixon's History of England, vol. ii. It is very remarkable that though these two writers flatly contradict one another; yet they agree in having each a stroke at Sir George Rooke; but as their poisons are opposite, so they very happily prove antidotes to each other.

be effected; and he knew very well, if this could be once done, an end would be put to all the French designs, and they must be obliged to terminate the matter, to the satisfaction, at least, of the maritime powers.

The scheme was undoubtedly very well laid, and the secret surprisingly well kept; for though the preparing of so great an armament could not be hidden, yet the intent of it was so effectually concealed, that not only France and Spain, but Portugal too, that crown being then in alliance with France and Spain, had equal cause to be alarmed; which had consequences very favourable to the grand alliance in all those countries, as will hereafter fully appear. In some cases, delay does as much, as dispatch in others. All the maritime provinces in the Spanish and French dominions were alarmed, the Italian States were intimidated; in short, it every where emboldened those who were inclined to the high allies to declare, and on the other hand heightened the fears of those who, but for them, would have espoused the interest of King Philip.

After the queen's accession, Sir George Rooke, as we observed, was declared admiral of this fleet, vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the Admiralty of England, and lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom: the duke of Ormond remained, as before, general of the land-forces, and the Dutch having joined the fleet with their squadron, which had also its quota of troops on board, the admiral hoisted the union flag on board the Royal Sovereign on the thirtieth of May, 1702; and on the first of June, his royal highness the prince of Denmark dined on board the admiral, and took a view of the fleet and army, which was soon in a condition to sail. Besides Sir George Rooke, there were the following flags, *viz.* Vice-admiral Hopson, who carried a red flag at the fore top-mast-head of the Prince George; Rear-admiral Fairbourne, who carried the white at the mizen-top-mast-head of the

St. George; and Rear-admiral Graydon, who carried the blue flag in the same manner in the Triumph. There were five Dutch flags, *viz.* two lieutenant-admirals, two vice-admirals, and a rear. The strength of this fleet consisted in thirty English, and twenty Dutch ships of the line, exclusive of small vessels and tenders, which made in all about 160 sail. As to the troops, the English consisted of 9663, including officers, and the Dutch of 4138, in all 13801.*

On the nineteenth of June, the fleet weighed from Spithead, and came to an anchor at St. Helen's. On the twenty-second, the two Rear-admirals, Fairbourne and Graydon, were detached with a squadron of thirty English and Dutch ships, with instructions first to look into the Groyne, and in case there were any French ships there, to block them up; but if not, to cruize ten or twelve leagues N. W. off Cape Finisterre, till they should be joined by the fleet.

On the tenth of August the fleet reached the rock of Lisbon, where the next day they held a council of war. On the twelfth they came before Cadiz, and anchored at the distance of two leagues from the city, Sir Thomas Smith, quarter-master-general, having viewed and sounded the shore on the backside of the Isle of Leon, in which Cadiz stands, and reported, that there were very convenient bays to make a descent; the duke of Ormond vehemently insisted in a council of war, upon landing in that isle, in order to make a sudden and vigorous attack upon the town, where the consternation was so great, that in all probability the enterprise would have succeeded; but several of the council, especially the sea-officers, opposing the duke's motion, it was resolved, that the army should first take the Fort of St. Catharine, and Port St. Mary, to facilitate thereby a nearer approach to Cadiz.

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* That this was a very great force, and that the public had reason to frame sanguine expectations to themselves, as to its success, all the world must allow: but, on the other hand, our expectations ought never to prejudice us so far, as to resolve not to be satisfied with a just account of their disappointment. Bishop Burnet says, that Sir George Rooke spoke coldly of the expedition before he sailed; and this he tells us, to prove that Sir George intended to do the enemy no hurt. But the mischief lies here, that Sir George suspected they should do no great good, because this expedition was of a doubtful nature: for on the one hand they were enjoined to speak to the Spaniards as friends, and at the same time were ordered to act against them as foes.

The next day the duke of Ormond sent a trumpet with a letter to Don Scipio De Brancacio, the governor, whom the duke had known in the Spanish service, in the last confederate war: but in answer to the letter, inviting him to submit to the house of Austria, Brancacio declared, he would acquit himself honourably of the trust that was reposed in him by the king.* On the fifteenth of August, the duke of Ormond landed his forces in the Bay of Bulls, above a mile on the left of St. Catharine's Fort, the cannon of which fired on his men all the while, but with little execution. The first that landed were twelve hundred grenadiers, led by Brigadier Pallant, and the earl of Donnegal; they were obliged to wade to the shore, and were all very wet when they reached it. In the mean time Captain Jumper in the Lenox, and some English and Dutch light frigates, kept firing on the horse that appeared near the coast, and they were soon after repulsed by the English foot.*

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* The reader will be better satisfied as to this matter, if he consult the collections of Lamberti, tom. ii. When the duke of Ormond summoned Fort St. Catharine, he declared, that if the governor did not accept his terms, he should be hanged, and none of his soldiers receive quarter. To this the governor answered with great spirit and justice, "That if he must be hanged, it was all one to him, whether by the duke of Ormond, or the governor of Cadiz; and therefore he desired leave to send to him for his orders, which was refused." These quick proceedings, instead of drawing the Spaniards to declare for the house of Austria, rendered them averse to it. At least, this was Sir George Rooke's sentiment, who did all he could to serve the common cause without provoking the people of that country, whom his instructions directed him to protect.

The duke of Ormond, as soon as the troops were landed, sent to summon Fort St. Catharine; but the governor replied, he had cannon mounted, with powder and ball sufficient to receive him. On the sixteenth the whole army marched to a camp marked out for them near La Rotta, a town within a league of the place, where they landed, from which most of the inhabitants were fled; but strict orders being given against plundering, many of them returned; and, had the Spaniards given due attention to the duke's declaration, published at his first coming on the Spanish coast, they needed not to have been in any consternation.

The duke of Ormond having left a garrison of three hundred men in La Rotta, marched on the twentieth of August towards Port St. Mary's. Some squadrons of Spanish horse, about six hundred in number, fired upon the duke's advanced guards, and killed Lieutenant-colonel Gore's horse, amongst the dragoons, but retired on the approach of the English grenadiers, of whom a detachment under Colonel Pierce, of the guards, were sent to take Fort St. Catharine; which they did, and made a hundred and twenty Spaniards prisoners of war. The duke entered Port St. Mary's, attended by most of the general officers, *viz.* Sir Henry Bellasis, lieutenant-general; the earl of Portmore, Sir Charles O'Hara, and Baron Spaar, majors-general; Colonel Seymour, Colonel Lloyd, Colonel Matthews, Colonel Hamilton, and Colonel Pallant, now brigadiers-general: and notwithstanding the strict orders the duke had issued against plunder, there was a very great failing in the execution of them, for which Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles O'Hara were put under arrest. When they came to England, Bellasis was dismissed the service; and though O'Hara escaped public censure, he did not private.

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* The prince of Hesse D'Armstadt was the principal mover of this expedition. He persuaded the ministers at Vienna, London, and the Hague, having first persuaded himself, that the Spaniards in general were zealous for the house of Austria. The consequences by no means made this good, as the duke and admiral found.

Mr. Methuen, her Majesty's envoy in Portugal, in a letter to the duke of Ormond, dated August the 1st, gave this wholesome advice concerning the conduct of the army: that the point of greatest importance was, to insinuate to the Spaniards, and shew by their proceedings, that they came not as enemies to Spain, but only to free them from France, and give them assistance to establish themselves under the government of the house of Austria. It being found too difficult to approach Cadiz while the Spaniards were in possession of Matagorda fort, over against the Puntal, it was ordered to be attacked, and a battery of four pieces of cannon erected against it; but upon every firing, the guns sunk into the sands, and, after a fruitless attempt, the design was given over, and the troops ordered to embark, which was done accordingly, with an intention to make the best of their way home. The Spaniards did, indeed, endeavour to disturb them in their retreat, but with very little success; a detachment of English and Dutch troops, under the command of Colonel Fox, having quickly repulsed them, with the loss of a few of their horse, who were the most forward in the attack, which discouraged the rest so, that few or none of our people were lost in getting aboard their ships.*

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* The truth of the matter was, that the confederates found Cadiz in a much better situation than they expected, themselves worse received than they hoped, and the general officers so much divided in their opinions, that a retreat was thought more advisable than any other measure in a council of war. If Sir George Rooke, before he put to sea, foresaw any of the difficulties they then met with, few people at this time of day, I believe, think such a foresight a discredit to him, either as a statesman or an

In most of our historians, the Cadiz expedition is treated as not much to the reputation of the nation in general, and of Sir George Rooke in particular. As to the disorders at St. Mary's, of which we shall hear much more in another place, they did not at all affect Sir George Rooke, who had nothing to do with them, nor was ever charged with them. That he did not pursue with great eagerness the burning the ships, or destroying the place, has, indeed, been imputed to him as an act of bad conduct. Bishop Burnet charges him with it flatly, and says, that, before he went out, he had in a manner determined not to do the enemy much hurt. I believe this prelate spoke as he thought; but as to Sir George, I am thoroughly persuaded that when he went out, and while he was out, he intended nothing more or less, than to obey his instructions.

As to the spirit of these, we may easily guess at it from the passage in Mr. Methuen's letter before cited, which very fully shews that this expedition was originally concerted on a supposition, that the Spaniards had a natural affection for the house of Austria, and would join with us in their favour against the French. But in this it seems we were mistaken; and yet it was not thought proper to make this conclusion too hastily, especially after what passed at Port St. Mary's, which, considering the disposition of the nation, might be presumed to have provoked the Spaniards to a degree not to be appeased by all the fine words we gave them in our manifesto. A candid reader will, therefore, easily discern the true reason of Sir George's conduct. He thought it madness to expose the lives of the queen's subjects, where they might be spared to better advantage; and, therefore, was not over fond of burning towns, and cutting throats, to con-

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admiral. As to his own conduct, he was called to an account for it before the House of Lords, and, as we shall see elsewhere, defended it so well, that no imputation could be fixed upon him.

vince the Spaniards of our hearty affection for them; which, however, was the language of our declarations and his instructions.* Mr. Oldmixon therefore concludes, after a candid relation of facts, very justly, and like a man of honour, that however the nation's expectations might be disappointed in the Cadiz expedition, yet there was nothing blameable in the conduct, either of the duke of Ormond or Sir George Rooke.† Foreign writers do the same justice to our commanders, and even such of those authors as are visibly in the French interest; so that, if we decide according to evidence, it is impossible for us to join in that clamour, which discontented people raised upon this occasion.‡

While the admiral was intent on bringing the fleet and forces safely home, Providence put it in his power to do his country a more signal and effectual service, than even the taking of Cadiz would have been. Captain Hardy, who commanded her Majesty's ship the Pembroke, was sent to water in Lagos Bay, where he understood from his conversation with the French consul, who industriously sought it in order to boast of their good fortune, that they had lately received great news, though he would not tell him what it was.* Soon after arrived an express from Lisbon, with letters for the prince of Hesse and Mr. Methuen; which, when he was informed they were no longer on board the fleet, he refused to deliver, and actually carried them back to Lisbon. In discourse, however, he told Captain Hardy, that the galleons, under the convoy of a French squadron, put into Vigo the 16th of September. Captain Hardy made what haste he could with this news to the fleet, with which, however, he did not meet until the 3d of October, and even then the wind blew so hard, that he found it impossible to speak with the admiral till the 6th, when he informed him of what he had heard.

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* This is the substance of Sir George Rooke's defence before the House of Lords, who inquired into this affair, and addressed the queen, that the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke might lay the whole transaction before them, which was done in the beginning of the next year, and what I have offered in the text is, only to avoid repetitions. A more distinct account of the inquiry will afterwards be found in the memoirs of Sir George Rooke.

† The reader will observe, that I lay hold of every opportunity of doing justice to our historians, and, therefore, I hope will believe, that whenever I differ with them, it is purely out of respect to truth.

‡ The French historians say, that the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt, whom the emperor had appointed general and commander in chief of such Spaniards as should manifest their fidelity to the house of Austria, did little or no service by the violent memorials which he published, filled with personal reproaches and warm threats against such as adhered to King Philip. At first, however, it is admitted, that the Spaniards did not shew any great zeal for their new prince; but after they were provoked by the barbarities committed at the port of St. Mary, they lost all patience, and fought with such bitterness and indignation, as is scarcely to be expressed. The same historians say, that the duke of Ormond and his forces, when they attacked Matagorda fort, were exposed to a prodigious fire from the place, while they were able to form no better battery than two field pieces, and two small mortars, the ground being so swampy as not to bear heavy artillery. Histoire Militaire, tom. iii.

Upon this, Sir George called a council of war immediately, composed of the English and Dutch flag-officers, by whom it was resolved to sail, as expeditiously as possible, to the port of Vigo, and attack the enemy. In order to this, some small vessels were detached to make a discovery of the enemy's force, which was done effectually by the Kent's boat; and the captain understood that Mons. Chateau Renault's squadron of French men of war, and the Spanish galleons, were all in that harbour; but the wind blowing a storm, drove the fleet to the northwards as far as Cape Finisterre, and it came not before the place till the 11th of October. The passage into the harbour was not above three quarters of a mile over, with a battery of eight brass, and twelve iron guns on the north side, and on the south was a platform of twenty brass guns, and twenty iron guns, as also a stone fort, with a breast-work and deep trench before it, ten guns mounted, and five hundred men in it. There was, from one side of the harbour to the other, a strong boom composed of ships'-yards and top-masts, fastened together with three-inch rope, very thick, and underneath with hawsers and cables. The top-chain at each end was moored to a seventy-gun ship, the one was called the Hope, which had been taken from the English, and the other was the Bourbon. Within the boom were moored five ships, between sixty and seventy guns each, with their broadsides fronting the entrance of the passage, so as that they might fire at any ship that came near the boom, forts, and platform.

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* Captain Hardy, on his arrival in England, was presented to the queen, who was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on him, in consideration of his good service, in gaining and giving to Admiral Rooke the intelligence, which was the occasion of the great success at Vigo. London Gazette, No. 3858.

The admirals removed the flags from the great ships into third rates, the first and second rates being all too big to go in. Sir George Rooke went out of the Royal Sovereign into the Somerset; Admiral Hopson out of the Prince George into the Torbay; Admiral Fairbourne out of the St. George into the Essex; and Admiral Graydon out of the Triumph, into the Northumberland. A detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war, with all their fire-ships, frigates, and bomb-vessels, were ordered to go upon the service.*

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* It is perfectly clear from his manner of making this attack, that Sir George Rooke had the honour of his country as much at heart as any man could have; and it is very strange, that among so many observations, no body should take notice of the great prudence shewn in the forming this disposition, and the courage and alacrity of the admirals in quitting the large ships, that they might have a share in the danger, as well as in the reputation of this action. If it had miscarried, we should have had reflections enough on the admiral's mistakes in this matter; and methinks, it is a little hard to pass in silence this extraordinary mark of his

The duke of Ormond, to facilitate this attack, landed on the south side of the river, at the distance of about six miles from Vigo, two thousand five hundred men; then Lord Shannon, at the head of five hundred men, attacked a stone fort at the entrance of the harbour, and having made himself master of a platform of forty pieces of cannon, the French governor, Mons. Sozel, ordered the gates of the place to be thrown open, with a resolution to have forced his way through the English troops. But, though there was great bravery, yet there was but very little judgment in this action; for his order was no sooner obeyed, than the grenadiers entered the place sword in hand, and forced the garrison, consisting of French and Spaniards, in number about three hundred and fifty, to surrender prisoners of war. This was a conquest of the last importance, and obtained much sooner than the enemy expected, who might otherwise have prevented it, since they had in the neighbourhood a body of at least ten thousand men, under the command of the prince of Brabançon. It was, likewise, of prodigious consequence in respect to the fleet, since our ships would have been excessively galled by the fire from that platform and fort.*

As soon, therefore, as our flag was seen flying from the place, the ships advanced, and Vice-admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, crowding all the sail he could, ran directly against the boom, broke it, and then the Kent, with the rest of the squadron, English and Dutch, entered the harbour. The enemy made a prodigious fire upon them, both from their ships and

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conduct, and leave it to be commended, as it is, by the Dutch historians only; as if they alone knew how to value merit, and we were concerned only to lessen and traduce it.

* The French writers say, that, at the first appearance of the duke of Ormond's grenadiers, the Spanish militia threw down their arms and fled; and they likewise admit, that they forced their way, on the opening the gate, as is asserted in our accounts.

batteries on shore, till the latter was possessed by our grenadiers, who, seeing the execution done by their guns on the fleet, behaved with incredible resolution. In the mean time, one of the enemy's fire ships had laid the Torbay on board, and would have certainly burnt her, but that luckily the fire ship had a great quantity of snuff on board, which extinguished the flames when she came to blow up: yet the vice-admiral did not absolutely escape. Her fore-top-mast was shot by the board, most of the sails were burnt or scorched, the fore yard consumed to a coal, the larboard shrouds, fore and aft, burnt at the dead eyes, several ports blown off the hinges, her larboard side entirely scorched, one hundred and fifteen men killed and drowned; of whom about sixty jumped overboard, as soon as they were grappled by the fire ship. The vice-admiral, when he found her in this condition, went on board the Monmouth, and hoisted his flag there.

In the mean time, Captain William Bokenham, in the Association, a ship of ninety guns, lay with her broadside to the battery, on the left of the harbour, which was soon disabled; and Captain Francis Wyvill in the Barfleur, a ship of the same force, was sent to batter the fort on the other side, which was a very dangerous and troublesome service, since the enemy's shot pierced the ship through and through, and, for some time, he durst not fire a gun, because our troops were between him and the fort; but they soon drove the enemy from their post, and then the struggle was between the French firing, and our men endeavouring to save their ships and the galleons. In this dispute, the Association had her main-mast shot, two men killed, the Kent had her fore-mast shot, and the boatswain wounded; the Barfleur had her main-mast shot, two men killed, and two wounded: the Mary had her bowsprit shot.* Of the troops, there were only two lieutenants and thirty men killed, and four superior officers wounded; a very inconsiderable loss, considering that the enemy had fifteen French men of war, two frigates, and a fire ship, burnt, sunk, or taken; as were also seventeen galleons. As for the particulars of the enemy's loss, and of what we gained by this great victory, they are accounted for at the bottom of the page.*

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* It is very apparent, from this account, that the action was extremely warm, and that all who were concerned in it, did their

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duty and, if we consider how many attempts of the same kind failed in the former reign, and with how small a loss this great action was achieved, we shall be satisfied that all our admirals deserved the highest commendations.

* FRENCH SHIPS TAKEN, BURNT, AND RUN ASHORE.

Ships burnt.	No. of guns.
Le Fort	76
L'Enflame	64
Le Prudent	62
Le Solide	56
La Dauphine	46
L'Entreprenant	22
La Choquante	8
	334

Le Favori, a fire ship.
Eight advice boats.

Taken by the English, and brought home.	
Le Prompt	76
Le Firme	72
L'Esperance	70
L'Assure	66
	284

Taken by the Dutch.	No. of guns.
Le Bourbon	68
Le Superbe	70
La Sirenne	60
Le Modere	56
Le Voluntaire	46
Le Triton	42
	342

Total, ships, 21. guns, 960

Six galleons were taken by the English, and five by the Dutch, who sunk six. As to the wealth on board the galleons, we never had any exact account of it. It is certain, that the Spanish and French ships had been twenty-five days in Vigo harbour, before the confederates arrived there, in which time, they debarked the best part of the plate and rich goods, and sent them up the country. The galleons had on board, when they arrived, twenty millions of pieces of eight, besides merchandise, which was thought of equal value. Of the silver, fourteen millions were saved, of the goods, about five. Four millions of plate were destroyed, with ten millions of merchandise; and about two millions in silver, and five in goods, were brought away by the English and Dutch.

This event gave a great deal of trouble to the Paris gazetteer: when he first spoke of the misfortune he affirmed, that all the plate was carried on shore, and secured, and that we had five men of war sunk, in the attack. Afterwards he retracted the first part of the tale, and owned that a little silver was taken; but then he added, that nine of our ships were wrecked in their return, and all their men lost; which shews how great an impression this loss made on those who had the direction of this gazette. Father Daniel gives a pretty fair account of this matter, and a late French historian very candidly owns, that, by this blow, the naval power of France was so deeply wounded, as that she never recovered it during the war.

There were certain circumstances attending this success of ours at Vigo, which heightened its lustre not a little. Our statesmen had all along kept their eyes upon the galleons, and had actually fitted out a squadron on purpose to intercept them, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Orders, likewise, had been sent to Sir George Rooke, by the earl of Nottingham, which never reached him; and after all their precautions, Sir Cloudesley Shovel's squadron would scarcely have been strong enough to have undertaken so dangerous an enterprise. Yet Bishop Burnet, not at all dazzled with the brightness of this exploit, tells us, that Sir George Rooke performed this service very unwillingly, and did not make the use of it he might have done; in which, no doubt, he was imposed on, since the fact, upon which he grounds it, is certainly false.*

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* If Sir George Rooke had been so negligent as the bishop makes him, we should certainly have never heard of the Spanish fleet at Vigo, at all; for though the bishop says, that the admiral sent to none of the ports, whereas expresses were sent to them all from Lisbon, yet the matter of fact is clearly this, that Sir George sent Captain Hardy to Lagos Bay, and there he met with the only express that was sent from Lisbon; so that here we have a charge not only without proof, but directly in the teeth of proof.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel arrived on the sixteenth of October, as the troops were embarking, and the admiral left him at Vigo, with orders to see the French men of war and the galleons that we had taken, and that were in a condition to be brought to England, carefully rigged, and properly supplied with men. He was, likewise, directed to burn such as could not be brought home, and to take the best care he could to prevent embezzlements; and having appointed a strong squadron for this service, the admiral, with the rest of the fleet, and one of the Spanish galleons, sailed home, and arrived in the Downs, on the seventh of November, 1702, from whence the great ships were, about the middle of the month, sent round to Chatham.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in the space of a week, put the French men of war, and other prizes, into the best condition possible; took out all the lading from a galleon, which was made prize by the Mary, and brought along with him the Dartmouth, which had been taken from us in the last war, and was now made prize by Captain Wyvil; but as there was another ship of that name in the navy, this prize was called the Vigo. He also took out of the French ships that were run on shore, fifty brass guns, and brought off sixty more from the forts and batteries; after which, on the twenty-fourth of October, he set fire to the ships which he could not bring away. The next day, he left Vigo, but it proving calm, he anchored in the channel between that port and Bayonne, where he sent several prisoners on shore with a flag of truce, and had ours returned in their stead.*

On the twenty-seventh of October, he was again under sail, intending to have passed through the north channel; but, the wind taking him short, he was obliged to pass through that which lies to the south, where the galleon, which was the Monmouth's prize, struck upon a rock, and foundered; but there being several frigates on each side of her, all her men were saved, except two. He was the very same day joined by the Dragon, a fifty gun ship commanded by Captain Holyman, which had been attacked by a French man of war of much greater force, and the captain and twenty-five men killed; but his lieutenant fought her bravely and at last brought her safe into the fleet. In their passage, they had extremely bad weather, and though the Nassau had the good fortune to make a very rich prize, which was coming from Morlaix, yet that vessel foundered the next morning, and the weather was then so bad, that the squadron separated, every ship shifting for itself; though all had the good luck to get safe to England, but in a very shattered condition.

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* This squadron sailed from Spithead, the 29th of September, 1702. Sir George Rooke arrived in the Downs, November 7th; and Sir Cloudesley sailed the 25th of October, from Vigo, and arrived, on the tenth of November, off the Isle of Wight. See the London Gazette, No. 3861.

We have now attended the grand fleet throughout the whole expedition, and are next to mention what was performed by several detachments made for particular services. Among these, the squadron commanded by Captain John Leake, claims the first notice. On the twenty-fourth of June, 1702, he received instructions from his royal highness, to proceed to Newfoundland, with a small squadron, in order to protect the trade, annoy the enemy, and bring the homeward bound ships under his convoy. He sailed, in pursuance of these instructions, and arrived in Plymouth Sound, on the twenty-second of July, where, having gained the best intelligence he could, as to the state of our own affairs, and of those of the enemy, he so effectually pursued the design on which he came thither, that, by the end of October, he found himself ready to proceed with the homeward bound ships for England, having taken twenty-nine sail of the enemy, and burnt two. Of these, three were laden with salt, twenty-five with fish, and one from Martinico with sugar and Molasses, eight of which fell into the hands of the Exeter, nine were taken by the Medway, four by the Montague, as many by the Litchfield, three by the Charles galley, and one by the Reserve. Besides which, he burnt and destroyed all the fishing boats and stages, &c. at Trepassy, St. Mary's, Colonet, great and little St. Lawrence's, and the island of St. Peter's, at the entrance of Fortune Bay, being all very considerable establishments of the French in Newfoundland, and of the greatest importance for carrying on their fishery there, and breeding their seamen. At the latter of these places, there was a small fort of six guns, which he totally demolished: after all which extraordinary success, he sailed home safely, though the weather was bad, and arrived with the squadron under his command at Portsmouth, on the tenth of November, in the same year.

In this, as in the former war, nothing gave us or the Dutch more disturbance, than the expeditions made from time to time by the French ships at Dunkirk, where this year they had a small squadron under the command of the famous Monsieur De Pointis. This induced his royal highness to equip a particular squadron under the command of Commodore Beaumont, which had orders in the latter end of the month of June, to sail to the mouth of that port, to keep the French ships from coming out. The States-general had, for the same purpose, a much stronger squadron, under the command of Rear-admiral Vanderdussen, for reasons of great importance, as they apprehended; though it afterwards appeared, that the French kept seven or eight ships there purely to amuse us and the Dutch, and to keep us in perpetual motion. According to the informations we had here, the French were sometimes said to have a design of intercepting our homeward bound ships from Sweden and Russia; according to others, they meditated a descent upon Scotland; and a great deal of pains and expence it cost us, to guard against both these designs.

On the other hand, the Dutch, who always piqued themselves on having the best and earliest intelligence, were thoroughly satisfied, that the Dunkirk squadron was not intended to attack us, but them; and that the true scheme of the French was, to make a descent upon Zealand; to which purpose they had likewise information, that a body of eight thousand land forces was assembled near Ostend. Full of apprehensions on this account, they reinforced their squadron before Dunkirk, to eighteen men of war of the line, and sent Vice-admiral Evertzen to command it. This officer found himself so strictly tied up by his instructions, that he could not afford any assistance to our commodore, when, in pursuance to orders from home, he sent to demand it. However, after several months fruitless attendance, and frequent informations given to the earl of Nottingham, that the French were at sea, and gone here and gone there, it at last appeared, that Commodore Beaumont had been all the while in the right, who affirmed in his letters, that they never stirred out of the harbour.*

It may not be amiss to observe here, that, in the beginning of 1702, died the famous John Du Bart. He was a native of Dunkirk, as some say, though others allege that he was born at Newcastle upon Tyne, but being carried over a child, was bred up from his infancy in the sea service at Dunkirk.* This is certain, that his mother was an English woman, and that he spent the first part of his life in ours and the Dutch service; but, having nothing but his merit to recommend him, he obtained very little, if any, preferment, which disgusted him so much, that, upon the breaking out of the former war, he entered into the service of France and rose there to the command of the Dunkirk squadron: in which post he rendered himself sufficiently terrible to the English and Dutch, by taking more of their ships than almost all the other French privateers together.

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* In all probability, the French themselves were the authors of these pieces of false intelligence, on purpose to alarm us and our allies, and to keep up the reputation of this formidable squadron. Thus much, indeed, was true, that the people in Scotland were, in a great measure, disaffected, and the French, from time to time, promised them assistance from Dunkirk; but the condition of their marine was such, as did not enable them to undertake any thing of importance; and, indeed, the whole strength of the Dunkirk squadron was altogether insufficient for performing any of the enterprises that it was supposed to be designed for. In this, therefore, lay the error of our ministry, that they had not proper intelligence as to the force of that squadron, for this would have rendered it impossible for them to have been played upon as they were.

He was succeeded in command by the Sieur Pointis, who had taken Carthagena, and whom the French, therefore, thought it proper to reward; though it is certain he had not either the industry or the capacity of his predecessor. But if we had nothing but the instance of this year's trouble and expence, in which no less than thirty of ours and the States-general's ships were employed in watching the Dunkirk squadron, it would be sufficient to shew the absolute necessity of keeping that port in its dismantled situation, and never permitting the French to gain by plunder the effects of other people's industry: for it is impossible any slight commerce carried on there, in times of tranquillity, can make the maritime powers the least amends for the risk they must run, on the breaking out of a war, should this port ever be restored, and left in that condition at a peace.*

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* This Du Bart performed most of his great exploits by mere dint of knowledge. He derived from nature a wonderful genius for maritime affairs, and improved this by a steady application to them. His perfect acquaintance with all the coasts, enabled him to perform wonders; because he, generally speaking, had to do with men much inferior to him in this kind of skill. He was, besides, a most excellent seaman, and never trusted to the care of others what it was in his power to see done himself. By this means, he kept his ships constantly clean, and in readiness to go to sea, whenever an opportunity offered; and his sagacity and success placed him so high in the esteem of Louis XIV. that he generally made choice of him for the execution of the most difficult enterprises undertaken during his reign; such as the convoying the prince of Conti to Poland, and the escorting the transports for the intended descent on England, in 1697.

I am now to speak of Admiral Benbow's expedition to the West Indies, and of his unfortunate death, the memory of which I could, for the honour of my country, wish should be buried in oblivion; but since that is impossible, I shall give the fairest and fullest account of the matter that I am able, having taken all the pains that I possibly could, to be perfectly informed of every circumstance relating to that affair, and shall be particularly careful to avoid concealing truth on the one side, and no less attentive not to exaggerate it on the other. We have already mentioned the cause and the manner of Admiral Benbow's putting to sea with his squadron, which consisted of two third, and eight fourth rates.

He arrived at Barbadoes on the third of November, 1701, from whence he sailed to examine the state of the French, and of our own Leeward islands. He found the former in some confusion, and the latter in so good a state of defence, that he did not look upon himself as under any necessity of staying, and therefore sailed to Jamaica. There he received advice of two French squadrons being arrived in the West Indies, which alarmed the inhabitants of that island and of Barbadoes very much. After taking care, as far as his strength would permit, of both places, he formed a design of attacking Petit Guavas;

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* I hint this, the rather, because some people have laid a great stress on our commerce, by means of that port, which, they would have us believe, turns in the main more to our advantage, than to that of the French. It is certain, however, that such as are of this opinion, have little acquaintance with the maxims of the French government, or the attention that the present French ministry pay to things of this nature; there being pehaps no nation in the world where nicer inquiries are made into whatever regards commerce.

but, before he could execute it, he had intelligence that Monsieur Ducasse was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, with a squadron of French ships, having an intent to settle the Assiento in favour of the French, and to destroy the English and Dutch trade for negroes.

Upon this he detached Rear-admiral Whetstone in pursuit of him, and on the eleventh of July 1702, he sailed from Jamaica, in order to have joined the rear-admiral: but having intelligence that Ducasse was expected at Leogane, on the north-side of Hispaniola, he plied for that port, before which he arrived on the twenty-seventh. Not far from the town he perceived several ships at anchor, and one under sail, who sent out her boat to discover her strength, which coming too near was taken; from the crew of which he learned, that there were six merchant ships in the port, and that the ship they belonged to was a man of war of fifty guns, which the admiral pressed so hard, that the captain, seeing no probability of escaping, ran the ship ashore, and blew her up. On the twenty-eighth the admiral came before the town, where he found a ship of about eighteen guns hauled under their fortifications, which however did not hinder his burning her. The rest of the ships had sailed before day, in order to get into a better harbour, *viz.* Cul de Sac; but some of our ships, between them and that port took three of them, and sunk a fourth. The admiral, after alarming Petit Guavas, which he found it impossible to attack, sailed for Donna Maria Bay, where he continued till the tenth of August, when having received advice, that Monsieur Ducasse was sailed for Carthagena, and from thence was to sail to Porto-Bello, he resolved to follow him, and accordingly sailed that day for the Spanish coast of Santa Martha.

On the nineteenth in the evening, he discovered near that place, ten sail of tall ships to the westward: standing towards them, he found the best part of them to be French men of war; upon this he made the usual signal for a line of battle, going away with an easy sail, that his sternmost ships might come up and join them, the French steering along-shore under their top-sails. Their squadron consisted of four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, with one great Dutch-built ship of about thirty or forty; and there was another full of soldiers, the rest small ones, and a sloop. Our frigates a-stern were a long time in coming up, and the night advancing, the admiral steered along-side the French; but though he endeavoured to near them, yet he intended not to make any attack, until the Defiance was got a-breast of the headmost.

Before he could reach that station, the Falmouth, which was in the rear, attempted the Dutch ship, the Windsor, the ship a-breast of her, as did also the Defiance; and soon after, the rear-admiral himself was engaged, having first received the fire of the ship which was opposite to him; but the Defiance and Windsor stood no more than two or three broadsides, before they luft out of gun-shot, insomuch that the two sternmost ships of the enemy lay upon the admiral, and galled him very much; nor did the ships in the rear come up to his assistance with that diligence which might have been expected. From four o'clock until night the fight continued, and though they then left off firing, yet the admiral kept them company; and being of opinion, that it might be better for the service if he had a new line of battle, and led himself on all tacks, he did so, and the line of battle then stood according to the arrangement in the note.*

Ships' names.	Commanders.	Guns.
* The Breda,	Vice-admiral Benbow and Captain Fog	70
The Defiance,	Captain Richard Kirby	64
The Greenwich,	Captain Cooper Wade	54
The Ruby,	Captain George Walton	48
The Pendennis,	Captain Thomas Hudson	48
The Windsor,	Captain John Constable	48
The Falmouth,	Captain Samuel Vincent	48

On the twentieth at day-break, he found himself very near the enemy, with only the Ruby to assist him, the rest of the ships lying three, four, or five miles a-stern. They had but little wind, and though the admiral was within gun-shot of the enemy, yet the latter was so civil as not to fire. About two in the afternoon, the sea-breeze began to blow, and then the enemy got into a line, making what sail they could: and the rest of the ships not coming up, the admiral and the Ruby plied them with chace-guns, and kept them company all the next night.*

On the twenty-first, the admiral was on the quarter of the second ship of the enemy's line, within point-blank shot; but the Ruby being a-head of the same ship, she fired at her, as the other ship did likewise that was a-head of the admiral. The Breda engaged the ship that first attacked the Ruby, and plied her so warmly, that she was forced to tow off. The admiral would have followed her, but the Ruby was in such a condition that he could not leave her. During this engagement the rear-ship of the enemy's was a-breast of the Defiance and Windsor, but neither of those ships fired a single shot. On the twenty-second at day-break the Greenwich was five leagues a-stern, though the signal for battle was never struck night or day; about three in the after noon the wind came southerly, which gave the enemy the weather-gage. On the twenty-third the enemy was six leagues a-head, and the great Dutch ship separated from them. At ten, the enemy tacked with the wind at E. N. E. the vice-admiral fetched point-blank within a shot or two of them, and each gave the other his broadside. About noon they recovered from the enemy a small English ship, called the Anne-galley, which they had taken off the rock of Lisbon. The Ruby being disabled, the admiral ordered her for Port-Royal. The rest of the squadron now came up, and the enemy being but two miles off, the brave admiral was in hopes of doing something at last, and therefore continued to steer after them; but his ships, except the Falmouth, were soon a-stern again; at twelve the enemy began to separate.*

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* Hence it appears, that if the Ruby had deserted Admiral Benbow with the rest, he could have done nothing; but must have been obliged to return to Jamaica, which was what his captains aimed at; and if this could have been effected, they would, in all probability, have carried their point, and the whole blame would have been thrown upon the admiral; which sufficiently demonstrates the merit of the gentleman who commanded the Ruby; *viz.* the late Sir George Walton, who had, however, been tampered with in his turn by the other captains; but when he came to be sober, and to consider the matter better, discharged his duty as became him.

On the twenty-fouth, about two in the morning, they came up within call of the sternmost, there being then very little wind. The admiral fired a broadside with double-round below, and round and partridge aloft. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was shattered to pieces by a chain-shot, and he was carried down; but he presently ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day. Then appeared the ruins of the enemy's ship of about seventy guns, her main-yard down and shot to pieces, her fore-top-sail-yard shot away, her mizen-mast shot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her sides bored to pieces. The admiral soon after discovered the enemy standing towards him with a strong gale of wind. The Windsor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, a-head of the enemy, came to the leeward of the disabled ship, fired their broadsides, passed her, and stood to the southward: then came the Defiance, fired part of her broadside, when the disabled ship returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm a-weather, and ran away right before the wind, lowered both her top-sails, and ran to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the signal of battle.*

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* In this, all the accounts we have agree; and nothing can be plainer than that, if these captains had now returned to their duty, most of Ducasse's squadron must have been taken.

The enemy seeing the other two ships stand to the southward, expected they would have tacked and stood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward. But when they saw those ships did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the admiral, and ran between their disabled ship and him, and poured in all their shot, by which they brought down his main-top-sail-yard, and shattered his rigging very much, none of the other ships being near him, or taking the least notice of his signals, though Captain Fog ordered two guns to be fired at the ships a-head, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, seeing things in this confusion, brought to, and lay by their own disabled ship, re-manned and took her into tow. The Breda's rigging being much shattered, she was forced to lie by till ten o'clock, and being by that time refitted, the admiral ordered his captain to pursue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward, his line of battle signal out all the while, and Captain Fog, by the admiral's orders, sent to the other captains, to order them to keep the line, and behave like men. Upon this Captain Kirby came on board the admiral, and told him, "That he had better desist; that the French were very strong; and that from what was past, he might guess he could make nothing of it.†"

The brave Admiral Benbow, more surprised, at this language than he would have been at the sight of another French squadron, sent for the rest of the captains on board, in order to ask their opinion. They obeyed him indeed, but were most of them in Captain Kirby's way of thinking; which satisfied the admiral that they were not inclined to fight, and that, as Kirby phrased it, *there was nothing to be done*, though there was the fairest opportunity that had yet offered. Our strength was, at this time, one ship of seventy guns, one of sixty-four, one of sixty, and three of fifty; their masts, yards, and all things else in as good condition as could be expected, and not above eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ship, nor was there any want of ammunition; whereas the enemy had now no more than four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, and one of them disabled and in tow. The vice-admiral thought proper upon this, to return to Jamaica, where he arrived with his squadron, very weak with a fever induced by his wounds, and was soon after joined by Rear-admiral Whetstone, with the ships under his command.

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* It was upon full evidence of this fact, that Captain Kirby (whom the Gazette calls Kirkby) was condemned for cowardice, though on other occasions he had behaved well. It was generally supposed, that he was the author of this scheme; at least he was charged with being so, by Wade and Constable.

† This was deposed at the trial, and was not denied by Kirby. After this, the officers of his own ship pressed the admiral to retire to Jamaica, from an apprehension, that these captains, being become desperate, might go over to the enemy, to which the afflicted admiral most unwillingly consented.

As soon as he conveniently could, Vice-admiral Benbow issued a commission to Rear-admiral Whetstone, and several captains, to hold a court-martial for the trial of several offenders.* On the sixth of October, 1702, the court sat at Port-Royal, when Captain Kirby, of the Defiance, was brought upon his trial. He was accused of cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty; which crimes were proved upon oath, by the admiral himself, ten commission, and eleven warrant officers; by whose evidence it appeared that the admiral boarded Ducasse in person three times, and received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, before his leg was shot off; that Kirby, after two or three broadsides, kept always out of gun-shot, and by his behaviour created such a fear of his desertion, as greatly discouraged the English in the engagement: that he kept two or three miles a-stern all the second day, though commanded again and again to keep his station: that the third day he did not fire a gun, though he saw the admiral in the deepest distress, having two or three French men of war upon him at a time; and that he threatened to kill his boatswain for repeating the admiral's command to fire. He had very little to say for himself, and therefore was most deservedly sentenced to be shot.

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* An account of the arraignments and trials of Colonel Richard Kirby, Captain John Constable, Captain Cooper Wade, Captain Samuel Vincent, and Captain Christopher Fog, on a complaint exhibited by the judge advocate on behalf of her Majesty, at a court-martial held on board the Breda, in Port Royal harbour in Jamaica, &c. for cowardice and other crimes committed by them, in a fight at sea, on the 19th of August, 1702, for which Colonel Kirby, and Captain Wade, were sentenced to be shot to death. London, 1703, folio.

The same day Captain Constable, of the Windsor, was tried; his own officers vindicated him from cowardice, but the rest of the charge being clearly proved, he was sentenced to be cashiered, and to be imprisoned during her Majesty's pleasure. The next day Captain Wade was tried, and the charge being fully proved by sixteen commission and warrant officers on board his own ship, as also, that he was drunk during the whole time of the engagement; he, making little or no defence, had the same sentence with Kirby. As for Captain Hudson, he died a few days before his trial should have come on, and thereby avoided dying as Kirby and Wade did; for his case was exactly the same with theirs.*

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* This is taken from the proceedings of the court-martial, which is referred to in the London Gazette, No. 3878, where we have the following short account of the whole affair. "As soon as M. Ducasse, with his squadron, appeared in sight, the admiral immediately made a signal for battle, and attacked the enemy very briskly, and maintained the fight for five days; so that, if he had been seconded by the other ships of his squadron, he would certainly have taken or destroyed all the French; but four of his ships did not assist him; the Ruby on the 21st was disabled, and afterwards sent to Port Royal, and the whole burden lay upon the admiral and the Falmouth; who, however, took a prize, being an

Upon the twelfth, came on the trials of Captain Vincent, commander of the Falmouth, and Captain Fog, who was captain of the admiral's own ship the Breda, for signing, at the persuasion of Captain Kirby, a paper, containing an obligation on themselves not to fight the French. The fact was clear, and the captains themselves did not dispute it. All they offered was in extenuation of their offence, and amounted only to this, that they were apprehensive Kirby would have deserted to the enemy, and they took this step to prevent it. But this tale would have hardly passed on the court-martial, if the admiral himself had not given some weight to their excuses, by declaring, that however they might be overseen in subscribing that paper, yet they certainly behaved themselves very gallantly in the fight. For the sake of discipline, the court, however, thought fit to suspend them; and yet, to favour the captains, this judgment was given, with a proviso that intirely took off its edge; *viz.* That it should not commence till his royal highness's pleasure should be known.

I cannot help taking notice of Secretary Burchet's odd way of telling this story: in the first place he conceals the names of the criminals; out of respect, he says, to their families, and because one of them,

English vessel, which the enemy had formerly taken from us; disabled the enemy's second ship, so that they were obliged to tow her away, and very much shattered the rest of their squadron, which since is put into Porto Bello. The admiral on the 24th, had his leg broken by a chain-shot, which yet, did not discourage him from continuing the fight; yet, not being able to prevail with his captains to concur with him in that opinion, he was obliged to give over his design. On the 6th of October, Rear-admiral Whetstone, by commission from the admiral, held a court-martial, wherein Captain Kirby, and Captain Cooper Wade, were, for cowardice and breach of orders, condemned to be shot to death, but the execution respited, till her Majesty's pleasure should be known. Captain Constable being cleared of cowardice, was, for breach of orders, cashiered from her Majesty's service, and condemned to imprisonment, during her pleasure. Captain Hudson died before the trial."

but he doth not say which, had behaved well before. He then turns himself to Admiral Benbow, and gives him a sort of negative character in the following words: "Thus much may be observed as to Vice-admiral Benbow's conduct, that although he was a good seaman, and a gallant man, and that he was qualified in most respects to command a squadron, especially in the West Indies, in which part of the world he had long experience; yet when he found his captains so very remiss in their duty, I think he ought, in point of discretion, to have summoned them; and even that at first, on board his own ship, and there confined them, and placed their first lieutenants in their rooms, who would have fought well, were it for no other reason than the hopes of being continued in those commands, had they survived."*

This, I must confess, does not by any means satisfy me. Admiral Benbow was no prophet: he could not foretel that these captains would behave ill, nor could he be sure that they did behave ill, till they had frequently disobeyed his signals. Part of the time he was warmly engaged, and that could be no season for consultation; and part of the time the weather was foul, and then he could not call them on board. Besides, he was surrounded by bad men, and thought himself in so little capacity of punishing these people at sea, that he retired to Jamaica, purely to be safe. But it would, methinks, have suited Mr. Burchet's purpose better, to have gone to the bottom of this affair, which, for any thing I can learn, the world is unacquainted with even yet, and therefore I think myself obliged to publish it.

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* The captains who suffered, had some very great relations, and, in all probability, a desire of being well with them, prevented the inserting the names of these offenders in this celebrated performance. But to be so tender of them, and, in the very same breath, to attack obliquely the character of so worthy a man as Admiral Benbow, does no great honour to his history. Bishop Burnet, likewise, who is so ready on every occasion to attack the character of Sir George Rooke, Vice-admiral Graydon, and many others of our naval commanders, is wholly silent in respect to this business, there being not the least trace of it in any part of his works, influenced no doubt, by the same motive, that wrought so powerfully upon Secretary Burchet.

The admiral was an honest, rough seaman, and fancied that the command was bestowed upon him for no other reason, that that he should serve his country: this induced him to treat Captain Kirby, and the rest of the gentlemen, a little briskly at Jamaica, when he found them not quite so ready to obey his orders as he thought was their duty; and this it was that engaged them in the base and wicked design, of putting it out of his power to engage the French, presuming that, as so many were concerned in it, they might be able to justify themselves, and throw the blame upon the admiral, and so they hoped to be rid of him. But his rugged honesty baffled them; and we may guess at the spirit of the man, by the answer he gave one of his lieutenants, who expressed his sorrow for the loss of his leg. "I am sorry for it too," says the gallant Benbow; "but I had rather have lost them both, than have seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation. But do you hear, if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out.*"

The turn given by the French to this affair, is very extraordinary. They tell us, that Admiral Benbow, at the distance of twelve leagues from Santa Martha, with seven men of war, attacked M. Ducasse, who, though he had but four, did not refuse to fight. The engagement lasted five days, and on the sixth Benbow made all the sail he could for Jamaica. He had a leg shattered, and died a little while afterwards: his ships were most of them in no condition to keep the sea, more than half the crews being killed. Only one ship of M. Ducasse's squadron suffered, and he had but twenty men killed and wounded in the whole.

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* See the memoirs of this brave man farther on.

However, he did not care to pursue Benbow, who he did not believe to be in so bad a condition as he really was, and therefore he made the best of his way to Carthagena, where he arrived in a few days, and where his presence gave now as much joy as it had formerly, that is, when he plundered it in conjunction with Monsieur Pointis, given terror. This is a very florid, and at the same time a very false account of the affair, and from thence we may learn the value of inquiries, since the court-martial at Jamaica, by their proceedings, set this whole business in its true light, and left us undeniable evidence, that it was not their own bravery, but the treachery of Benbow's captains, that saved the French squadron.

The reflections that he made on this unlucky business, threw the brave admiral into a deep melancholy, which soon brought him to his end; for he died on the 4th of November, 1702, as much regretted as he deserved. The command of the squadron then devolved on Captain Whetstone, who in this expedition acted as rear-admiral, and of whose proceedings in the West Indies we shall give an account in its proper place. In the mean time, it is requisite that we should follow the condemned captains home, in order to put an end to this disagreeable narration. They were sent from Jamaica, on board her Majesty's ship the Bristol, and arrived at Plymouth on the 16th of April, 1703, where, as in all the western ports, there lay a death warrant for their immediate execution, in order to prevent any applications in their favour; and they were accordingly shot on board the ship that brought them home, and shewed at their death a courage and constancy of mind, which made it evident, that their behaviour in the late engagement did not flow from any infirmity of nature, but from the corruption of their minds; and I hope the example of their fate will always have a proper effect on such as are intrusted with the like commands.

I should now, according to the order I have hitherto pursued in this work, take notice of what was transacted at home, in relation to the navy, and particularly of what passed in parliament upon this subject: but as the queen's proclamation for a thanksgiving, in which honourable mention is made of the success at Vigo, and the thanks bestowed by the House of Commons on Sir George Rooke for his conduct in that affair, will appear with greater propriety, when I come to the memoirs of his life; to avoid repetitions I shall not insist further upon them here. I must however observe, that as, in the case of Kirby and Wade, her Majesty shewed a strict regard to justice, so, with respect to Admiral Hopson, she gave as lively a testimony of her just sense of merit, for she not only conferred on him the honour of knighthood, but was graciously pleased to settle upon him a pension of *500l.* a-year for life, with the reversion of *300l.* a-year to his lady, in case she survived him, on account of the prodigious service he did in breaking the boom at Vigo.*

But this extraordinary mark of royal favour did not as indeed it ought not, screen him from a strict examination in the House of Lords, in conjunction with Sir George Rooke, as to the miscarriage of the design upon Cadiz; but upon the strictest review that could be made of that whole affair, there appeared so little colour for censuring either of the admirals' actions, that how much soever their enemies might desire it, they were at last glad to let the matter drop. Indeed the fleet, though it had not performed all that was expected, had done as much as was possible for the service of the nation, and had thereby afforded an opportunity to our worthy minister at Lisbon, Mr. Methuen, to draw over from his alliance with the two crowns, the King of Portugal, to the interest of the allies, and to conclude an advantageous treaty of commerce there.*

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* This was published in the Gazette of November 30, 1702, with this addition, that he was introduced to the queen, when he received the honour of knighthood, by the hand of his royal highness, Prince George of Denmark, lord high-admiral of England. See the Complete History of Europe, for the year 1702.

There had hitherto appeared very little of party-opposition to the management of the war, and therefore the supplies for the service of the year 1703, were very chearfully granted, and very easily raised, which was the reason that the fleet was much earlier at sea, had all things provided in a better manner, at less expence to the nation, and yet sooner than they had ever been before, which was one great reason why the French never had any of those advantages they boasted of so much in the former war. In the month of March the queen made a kind of naval promotion. The marquis of Cærmarthen was advanced from being vice-admiral of the white, to be vice-admiral of the red; John Graydon, Esq. was made vice-admiral of the white, John Leake, Esq. vice-admiral of the blue; George Byng, Esq. rear-admiral of the red; Thomas Dilkes, Esq. rear-admiral of the white, and Bazil Beaumont, Esq. rear-admiral of the blue.*

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* Bishop Burnet gives this account. "A committee of the House of Peers sat long upon the matter: they examined all the admirals and land-officers, as well as Rooke himself, upon the whole progress of that affair. Rooke was so well supported by the court, and by his party in the House of Commons, that he seemed to despise all that the lords could do; some who understood sea-matters, said, that it appeared from every motion during the expedition, that he intended to do nothing but amuse and make a shew; they also concluded, from the protection that the ministry gave him, that they intended no other. He took much pains to shew, how improper a thing a descent on Cadiz was, and how fatal the attempt must have proved: and in doing this, he arraigned his instructions, and the design he was sent on, with great boldness; and shewed little regard to the ministers, who took more pains to bring him off, than to justify themselves. The lords of the committee prepared a report, which was hard upon Rooke, and laid it before the house; but so strong a party was made to oppose every thing that reflected on him, that though every particular in the report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a vote was carried in his favour, justifying his conduct." The truth of the matter is, that as Sir George Rooke knew nothing of his orders, until he came to execute them; so he was absolutely free from dependance on any minister, and spoke what he thought with the greatest intrepidity. The main of his defence was this, that his orders were contradictory; that the chief of them required his bringing over the Spaniards, if possible, to the interest of the house of Austria, and the rest enjoined him to sink their ships and burn the town, which he found scarce practicable; and if it had been more so, not at all eligible, since at first the inhabitants did not discover any great enmity: and if more had been done, it could only have served to have made the Spaniards implacable; aud after all, perhaps the town might not have been taken.

The first scheme that was formed for performing any thing remarkable at sea, was upon a foreign plan. It was intended, that the Arch-duke Charles, who was to take upon him the title of King of Spain, should also marry an infanta of Portugal, and, in consequence of that marriage, he was to undertake something of importance immediately, with the assistance however of the English and Dutch; and so hearty were the latter, that they sent a squadron of men of war, with nearly three thousand land-troops on board, upon our coast, and after tossing and tumbling there for some weeks, the project in the council of the imperial court was changed, the design dropt, and the Dutch went home again.

Sir George Rooke had proposed a scheme for distressing the enemy, by sailing very early into the Bay of Biscay, where he thought, if they had any men of war without Port Louis and Rochfort, they might be surprised and taken, or at least the commerce might be interrupted; and for the performance of this scheme, he took it upon himself.† About the middle of the month of April he arrived at St. Helen's, with eighteen ships of the line, with which he was very desirous of sailing on the intended expedition, without waiting for the Dutch; but this proposition was not at first accepted; so that he remained there till the beginning of the month of May, when he was so ill that he kept his bed, though Bishop Burnet is so charitable as to suggest, that he was only sick of the expedition; which, had it been true, was no reflection upon him, since the execution of what he proposed depended entirely on its being done in time, and the putting off his departure was chargeable on those who were vested with that authority which commanded him.*

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* The supplies granted this year, amounted to 3,517,957*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* which in those days was thought an immense sum, though we have since seen much larger granted, without being well able to tell whether for peace or war. As to the promotion, it was declared in the Gazette of March 15, 1702, No. 3896, and was at that time highly applauded, because it was generally conceived, that those gentlemen were promoted purely in regard to their merit. It was also said at that time, that Mr. Graydon was advanced on another officer's refusing to serve in the West Indies.

† There could not well be a greater sign of his being in earnest;

The truth, however, was, that the admiral found himself so ill, that he applied for leave to go to the

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and, as to the nature of the proposal, it was certainly well calculated for preventing the French from reaping any benefit from their trade with Spain, or the Spaniards from feeling any effects of French protection. This agreed exactly with the maxim upon which Sir George Rooke always went of treating the French as enemies, and the Spaniards as allies. For it was his opinion, and he was not shy of declaring it, that it might be very practicable to retrieve Spain, though impossible to conquer it. Let it be considered, how far this was justified by the event.

* That I may not seem to charge this prelate rashly, I will produce his own words: "This year things at sea, says he were ill designed, and worse executed: the making Prince George our lord high-admiral, proved in many instances very unhappy to the nation: men of bad designs imposed on him; he understood those matters very little. and they sheltered themselves under his name, to which a great submission was paid; but the complaints rose the higher for that; our main fleet was ready to go out in May, but the Dutch fleet was not yet come over; so Rooke was sent out to alarm the coast of France: he lingered long in port, pretending ill health; upon that Churchill was sent to command the fleet; but Rooke's health returned happily for him, or he thought fit to lay aside that pretence, and went to sea, where he continued a month; but in such a station, as if his design had been to keep far from meeting the French fleet, which sailed out at that time; and to do the enemy no harm, not so much as to disturb their quiet, by coming near their coasts; at last he returned without having attempted any thing."

Bath, which was granted him; and George Churchill, Esq. admiral of the blue, was sent to take upon him the command. But he not arriving in time, and Sir George finding himself better, put to sea, and continued at sea for something more than a month; and then finding what he suspected at the Isle of Wight to be true, that the enemy had notice of his design, and that most of their squadrons had sailed; and therefore perceiving that he could do the nation no service by remaining longer on the French coast, returned home about the middle of June, that he might be ready to undertake any more necessary service.

When Sir George Rooke returned, he was still so weak and infirm, that he asked and had leave to go to Bath, his superiors seeing no reason to censure his behaviour; and therefore, as soon as he was able to undertake it, we shall find him again in command, and employed in a service of much greater importance.

The grand fleet was commanded this year by Sir Cloudesley Shovel. It consisted at first of twenty-seven ships of the line, and the admiral had under him Rear-admiral Byng, and Sir Stafford Fairborne; and being afterwards reinforced with eight ships more, these were commanded by Vice-admiral Leake. His instructions were very full; but all of them might be reduced to these three heads, *viz.* annoying the enemy; assisting our allies; and protecting our trade. He waited till the middle of June for the Dutch, and then was joined only by twelve ships of the line, carrying three flags; and it is certain, that if the force he had with him, had been better adjusted than it was to the things he had orders to perform, yet the time allowed him, which was only till the end of September, was much too short, so that it was really impossible for him to execute the services that seemed to be expected. He represented this, and is commended for it by Bishop Burnet, who had notwithstanding, censured another admiral for the same thing before; however, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was ordered to obey, and he did so, but was not able to get clear of the land till near the middle of July, having also a fleet of upwards of two hundred and thirty merchantmen under his convoy.

On the twenty-fourth, he arrived off the rock of Lisbon, where he held a council of war, in which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in Altea Bay. He pursued his instructions as far as he was able, and having secured the Turkey fleet, he intended to have stayed some time upon the coast of Italy. But the Dutch admiral informed him, that both his orders and his victuals required his thinking of a speedy return; and it was with much difficulty that Sir Cloudesley Shovel prevailed upon him to go to Leghorn. In the mean time, the instructions he had to succour the Cevennois, who were then in arms against the French king, were found impracticable with a fleet; and, therefore, the admiral contented himself with doing all that could be done, which was, to send the Tartar and the Pembroke upon that coast, where they also found it impossible to do any thing. The admiral then detached Captain Swanton to Tunis and Tripoli, and sent Rear admiral Byng to Algiers to renew the peace with those States, and, on the twenty-second of September, arrived off Altea, from whence he soon after sailed for England.

On the twenty-seventh, in the Straits' mouth, he met with an Algerine man of war becalmed, upon which he immediately took her under his protection, till all the Dutch ships were passed. In this, he certainly performed the part of an English admiral, preserved the reputation of our flag, did great service to our trade, and put it out of the power of the French to practise upon those piratical States to our disadvantage, as they had done formerly. Having intelligence that a fleet of merchant ships waited for a convoy at Lisbon, he sent Sir Andrew Leake thither with a small squadron, who escorted them safe into the Downs.

On the sixteenth of November, the fleet being off the Isle of Wight, the Dutch crowded away for their own ports, and left the admiral to steer for the Downs, which he did; but, before he made land, Captain, afterwards Sir John Norris, in the Orford, a ship of the third rate, together with the Warspight of seventy guns, and the Litchfield of fifty, being a-head of the fleet, gave chace to a French ship of war, and beginning to engage about eight at night, the dispute continued till two in the morning, when, having lost her fore top-mast and all her sails, and her standing and running rigging being much shattered, she struck. This ship came from Newfoundland, was commanded by M. De la Rue, was named the Hazardous, and had fifty guns mounted, with three hundred and seventy men; but had more ports, and was larger than any of our sixty-gun ships, so that she was registered in the list of our royal navy.

This expedition did not reflect much honour on the nation, and, therefore, it created some murmurs; but these fell where they ought; not upon the admiral, who certainly did all that was in his power, but upon those who framed the project, and gave the admiral his instructions, and who were thought to have rather more power than talents.

But while the grand fleet was at sea, Rear-admiral Dilkes performed a very acceptable service to his country on the French coast. For the lord high admiral's council having intelligence, that a considerable fleet of French merchant ships, with their convoy, were in Cancall Bay, orders were sent to the rear-admiral, who was then at Spithead, with a small squadron to sail immediately in pursuit of them, which he did on the twenty-second of July. On the twenty-fourth, he ordered the captain of the Nonsuch, to stretch a-head of the squadron, and stand as near Alderney as he could, and send his boat a-shore to gain intelligence. On the twenty-fifth, he stood towards the Casquets for the same purpose, and, at six in the evening, anchored off the south-west part of Jersey, from whence he sent Captain Chamberlain, commander of the Spy brigantine, to the governor, that he might obtain from him the best intelligence he could give.

The governor sent to him Captain James Lamprier, and Captain Thomas Pipon, who well understood that coast, by whom being informed of a fleet of about forty sail, plying to the windward, on the fifteenth, to get to Granville, the rear-admiral, upon consultation at a council of war with the pilots, resolved to sail immediately, though the tide fell cross in the night, that, getting clear of the westernmost rocks of the Minques, he might attack the enemy by break of day; which succeeded perfectly well; for the next morning, the twenty-sixth, by day-light, perceiving the enemy at an anchor about a league to the westward of Granville, they, upon his approach, got under sail, and stood in for the shore.

The rear-admiral followed them as far as the pilot would venture, and found them to consist of forty-three merchant ships, and three men of war. Being come within four feet water more than the ship drew, he manned all his boats, and the rest of the ships did the same. By noon, he took fifteen sail, burnt six, and sunk three; the rest stood so far into a bay, between Avranche and the mount of St. Michael, that, in the judgment of the pilots, our ships could not attack them; whereupon, on the twenty-seventh, in the morning, it was resolved, at a council of war, to go into the bay with the Hector, Mermaid, a fire-ship, the Spy brigantine, a ship of six guns, taken the day before from the enemy, a ketch, fitted out as a fire-ship, and all the boats of the squadron, which was performed between ten and eleven in the morning, the rear-admiral being present, accompanied by Captain Fairfax, Captain Legg, and Captain Mighells; as also by the Captains Lamprier and Pipon.

There were three ships equipped for war, one of eighteen guns, which the enemy burnt, the second of fourteen guns, which Mr. Paul, first lieutenant of the Kent, set on fire, who, in this service, was shot through the lower jaw, and four men killed, and a third of eight guns, which was brought off. Seventeen more of the merchant ships were burnt and destroyed, by this second attack, so that of the whole fleet only four escaped, by getting under the command of Granville fort. The enemy, during this attack, sent several large shallops from Granville, but with no success, the rear-admiral having manned a brigantine with eighty men, and another vessel of six guns, with forty, who covered all the boats. This last vessel unfortunately run aground, which obliged the rear-admiral to burn her. There were, during the time of this action, about five thousand of the enemy seen on shore, but they did not advance near enough to do their own people any service, or ours any hurt. The queen, to testify her kind acceptance of so cheerful and so effectual a service, ordered gold medals to be struck on this occasion, and delivered to the rear-admiral and all his officers, who certainly had very well deserved them.

We are now to speak of the greatest disaster that had happened within the memory of man, at least, by the fury of the winds, I mean the storm which began on the twenty-sixth of November, 1703, about eleven in the evening, the wind being W. S. W. and continued, with dreadful flashes of lightning, till about seven the next morning, The water flowed to a great height in Westminster Hall, and London Bridge was, in a manner, stopt up with wrecks. The mischief done in London was computed at not less than a million, and the city of Bristol suffered damage to upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. But the greatest loss fell upon our navy, of which there perished no less than thirteen ships, upwards of fifteen hundred seamen were drowned:*

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* The following is the best account that can be given of the particulars of this great loss:

1. The Reserve, a fourth rate, Captain John Anderson, Commander, lost at Yarmouth. The captain, the surgeon, the clerk, and 44 men saved; the rest of the crew drowned, being 175.

2. The Vanguard, a second rate, sunk in Chatham harbour, with neither men nor guns in her.

3. The Northumberland, a third rate, Captain Greenway, lost on the Goodwin Sands; all her company was lost, being 220 men, including twenty-four marines.

4. The Sterling Castle, a third rate, Captain Johnson, on the Goodwin Sands, 70 men, of which, four marine officers were saved, the rest were drowned, being 206.

5. The Mary, a fourth rate, Rear-admiral Beaumont, Captain Edward Hopson, on the Goodwin Sands, the captain, and purser ashore; one man, whose name was Thomas Atkins, saved; the rest, to the number of 269, with the rear-admiral, drowned. The escape of this Atkins was very remarkable. He saw the rear-admiral, when the ship was breaking, get upon a piece of her quarter deck, from which he was soon washed off; and about the same time, Atkins was tossed by a wave into the Sterling Castle, which sinking soon after, he was thrown the third man into her boat, by a wave that washed him from the wreck.

6. The York, a fourth rate, Captain Smith, lost at Harwich; all her men saved except four.

7. The Mortar-bomb, a fifth rate, Captain Raymond, on the Goodwin Sands; all her company lost, being 65.

8. The Eagle advice boat, a sixth rate, Captain Bostock, lost on the coast of Sussex; all her company, being 45, saved.

9. The Resolution, a third rate, Captain Lisle, on the coast of Sussex; all her company, being 221, saved.

10. The Litchfield prize, a fifth rate, Captain Chamberlain, on the coast of Sussex; all her company, being 108, saved.

11. The Newcastle, a fourth rate, Captain Carter, lost at Spithead; the carpenter and 39 men were saved, and the rest, being 193, drowned.

12. The Vesuvius fire-ship, a fifth rate, Captain Paddon, at Spithead; all her company, being 48, saved.

13. The Restoration, a third rate, Captain Emms, 387 men, on the Goodwin Sands; not one saved.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was then in the Downs with several great ships, which were all in the utmost danger; he cut his main mast by the board, which saved the ship from running on the Galloper of the breach, of which she was then in view. Sir Stafford Fairborne had his flag, as vice-admiral of the red, flying in the Assoamongst whom was Basil Beaumont, Esq. rear-admiral of the blue, who had been employed all that year in observing the Dunkirk squadron, and had, by his great care and conduct, preserved our merchant ships from falling into the hands of the French privateers; which service appeared the more considerable by the great losses which the Dutch this year sustained. He was, in all other respects, a man well qualified for the service of his country, and what made his loss most regretted, he died in the flower of his age, and in the heat of the war. These losses, how much soever they might affect us at home, served in some measure to raise our reputation abroad, for orders were immediately issued for building more ships than were destroyed; and the queen, by several gracious bounties, gave such and so speedy relief to the shipwrecked seamen, and to the distressed widows of such as were drowned, as might have endeared her to her subjects, if she had not already so fully possessed their hearts, as to render any increase of affection impossible.*

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ciation, in which he was driven first to Gottenburgh, and then to Copenhagen, from whence he did not get home till the next year, The Revenge was forced from her anchors, and with much ado, after driving some time on the coast of Holland, got into the River Medway; the Russel, Captain Townsend, was forced over to Holland, and the Dorset, Captain Edward Whitaker, after striking thrice on the Galloper, drove a fortnight at sea, and then got safe to the Nore.

* On the 12th of December, the queen published a proclamation for a general fast, on Wednesday, the 19th of January following, which was kept with wonderful strictness; in the Gazette of December 16th, the lord high admiral, by an advertisement dated the 13th, gives notice, that the companies of her Majesty's ships, which were cast away, should be paid that day month, which was done accordingly; and in the Gazette, No. 3978, appeared the following order:

"Her Majesty taking into consideration, the great loss sustained by the families of such, as being in her Majesty's service at sea, perished by the late storm; her Majesty, with the advice of her privy-council, is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered accordingly, that the widows and families of such commission and other officers and seamen as have perished by reason of the late storm, in

Charles, arch-duke of Austria, being declared king of Spain, by his father, and owned as such by the allies, Sir George Rooke was sent, in the month of October, to Holland, in order to convoy his Catholic Majesty to Lisbon. There the Dutch not being ready, the admiral was forced to continue for some time, and then the great storm occasioned a new delay; at last he embarked, and with a joint squadron of English and Dutch ships, and a considerable number of transports, with land forces on board, he arrived at Spithead on the twenty-sixth of December; he was there complimented by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough; on the road to Windsor, he was met by his royal highness the prince of Denmark, and, on his arrival, was received with all imaginable marks of respect by the queen, for whom he shewed greater deference than was even expected by the English court.* Here we will end the naval transactions in

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her Majesty's service at sea, be entitled to her Majesty's bounty in the same manner, as if they had been actually killed in fight, in her Majesty's service at sea, according to the establishment in that behalf. And his royal highness Prince George of Denmark, lord high admiral, is desired to give the necessary directions herein accordingly."

The House of Commons, which was then sitting, addressed her Majesty upon this melancholy occasion, desiring her to give immediate directions for repairing this loss, and to build such capital ships as she should think fit, and promised to make good the expence at their next meeting.

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. "About the end of December," says the bishop, "the king of Spain landed at Portsmouth. The duke of Somerset was sent by the queen to receive him, and to bring him to an interview, which was to be at Windsor; Prince George went and met him on the way, and he was treated with great magnificence; the court was very splendid and much thronged, the queen's behaviour towards him was very noble and obliging: the young king charmed all that were there; he had a gravity beyond his age, tempered with much modesty, his behaviour was, in all points, so exact, that there was not a circumstance, in his whole deportment, that was liable to censure; he paid an extraordinary respect to the queen, and yet maintained a due greatness in it: he had an art of seeming well pleaed with every

Europe for this year, and proceed to take a view of what passed in America, after the death of Admiral Benbow in Jamaica.*

The command devolving upon Captain Whetstone, whom Mr. Benbow had appointed rear-admiral of his squadron, he immediately put it into the best condition possible for going to sea, and then cruized on the coast of Hispaniola. On his return to Jamaica an opportunity offered of shewing his great concern for the interests of the colony. A fire breaking out at Port Royal on the 9th of February, 1703, about noon, burnt it down to the ground before night, leaving nothing standing but the two fortifications. In this sad distress of the inhabitants, which still would have been much greater, if the seamen, with

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thing, without so much as smiling once all the while he was at court, which was only three days: he spoke but little, and all he said was judicious and obliging." Annals of Queen Anne, vol. ii. London Gazette, No 3980.

* Most of our historians have placed Sir George Rooke's voyage to Lisbon in 1703, which is what I do not understand, since he did not leave England till the month of January, 1704, and, therefore, I have contented myself with placing that part of his expedition within this year, which fell out in it, and left the rest to be related in its proper place. I shall take this opportunity of observing, that the Arch Duke Charles was proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, on the 12th of September, N. S. his journey to Portugal being then resolved on. The choice made of Sir George Rooke to bring him over hither, and convoy him to Lisbon, was a clear proof that his conduct was equally approved at home and abroad. Indeed it could not be otherwise, for every body at this time, was satisfied that our ministry designed to place King Charles III. on the throne of Spain, partly, by assisting the Spaniards, who should declare for him, but chiefly by compelling the French to abandon the cause of his rival. Now this was exactly agreeable to Sir George Rooke's way of thinking, who was for treating the Spaniards kindly, and fighting only with the French. This being considered, we may easily account for the making choice of Sir George Rooke to command this fleet, though it will not be easy to divine, why those writers bear hardest on Sir George's character, who are fondest of Lord Godolphin's measures, which we have shewn to be a thing absolutely absurd, since they thought alike, and adopted the single plan that could so much as promise success.

great courage and industry, had not assisted in preserving their goods and stores, the rear-admiral published a proclamation, in which he promised to entertain and relieve all such as should desire it, on board her Majesty's ships, until they could be otherwise provided for; which he, with great care and tenderness, performed.

Soon after this, he sailed again on a cruize, in hopes of meeting a considerable fleet of merchant-ships, which were expected from France. He spent five weeks in search of them to no purpose; and after looking into Port Louis, not finding any thing there, he stood away for Petit Guavas and Leogane. When he arrived near this port, he divided his squadron, because when Admiral Benbow attacked the enemy here, their ships escaped on one side, as he entered on the other. He, therefore, sailed westward with part of his ships, and sent the rest to the south. When these came in sight, three privateers, which were in every respect ready for service, stood away northward; but the rear-admiral forcing two of them ashore, burnt them, and the other he took. Captain Vincent, who commanded to the southward, rowed in the night into a place called the Cul de Sac, where he found four ships, one of which he burnt, another he sunk, the third, which was a consort of the privateers aforementioned, he towed out, and boarded the fourth, she was blown up by the accidental firing of a grenado-shell. From this place the rear-admiral sailed to Port de Paix, but found no shipping there; for the before-mentioned privateers were all that the enemy had in those parts, with which, and five hundred men, they thought to have made an attempt on the north side of Jamaica; and in these ships were taken one hundred and twenty prisoners.

While Rear-admiral Whetstone was thus employed, they were far from forgetting the safety of the plantations at home. Sir George Rooke, in the month of September, 1702, detached from the Mediterranean

Captain Hovenden Walker, in the Burford, five more third-rates, ten transports, and four regiments on board, for the Leeward islands; he arrived in Barbadoes in the beginning of the month of January; and upon the coming thither soon after of six of our East India ships richly laden, he, by the advice of a council of war, sent them home under the convoy of the Expedition, a third rate, Captain Knapp commander, who brought them safely to England. From Barbadoes, Commodore Walker sailed to Antigua, where he joined Colonel Codrington, who was about undertaking an expedition to Guadaloupe, in which Captain Walker was to assist him. They sailed from Antigua the latter end of February; on the 12th of March, General Codrington landed with great part of the forces, but was so warmly received by the French, that they would have been able to have done little or nothing, if Commodore Walker had not sent in the Chichester, which drove the enemy from their batteries, which our men quickly entered. The next day, the rest of the soldiers and four hundred seamen were landed, who attacked the north part of the town with great fury, forced the enemy to abandon it, and to retreat into the castle and fort, which they defended to the 3d of April, and then, blowing them both up, retired to the mountains. After this, our troops ravaged all the country, burnt the town to the ground, razed the fortifications, carried the best of the artillery on board, burst the rest, and, with a very great booty, embarked without the loss of a man.*

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* There were some unlucky circumstances attended this expedition. In the first place, when Captain Walker arrived, the land-forces had no powder, with which, however, they were furnished from the fleet. When they came next to examine their stores closely, it was found, that in a thousand flints, there were not fifty fit for muskets, nor had they mortars, bombs, pick-axes, spades, or indeed any thing proper and convenient for a siege. But we must take care not to attribute this mismanagement either to Commodore Walker, who commanded here, or to Sir George Rooke, who sent him, since they both acted in obedience to orders;

The French writers give a different account of this affair, and, because the English thought fit to retreat, they will needs have it the proof of a victory on their side. Now, as to this retreat, there were many reasons for it, and some, indeed, that rendered it indispensably necessary. General Codrington fell sick, and was forced to return to Nevis; then Colonel Whetham, upon whom the command devolved, fell also dangerously ill, and was carried to Antigua. The command of the land-forces fell next to Colonel Willis, who, upon certain information that the French had landed nine hundred men on the back of the island, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to embark the forces; and this was accordingly done, as I have before observed, on the 7th of May. It must be acknowledged, that this service suffered not a little from some disputes that happened between the land and sea-officers; which is, generally speaking, the ruin of our West India expeditions.*

As soon as the news of Vice-admiral Benbow's misfortune and death arrived in England, it was resolved

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the commodore to those of the admiral, and the admiral receiving his from the ministry, who ought to have considered better what they were doing.

* The governors of our colonies have scarcely ever been able to agree with the commanders of our squadrons, and with respect to this very expedition, there were as warm complaints made against the commodore, as ever came from the West Indies: but he represented, that the road of Guadaloupe was excessively bad; that he found it impossible to procure pilots; that several of the ships lost their anchors, the ground being foul, and the water deep, so that some or other were daily forced out to sea; and added to this, that the troops were under excessive difficulties, having no guides to conduct them, and being under the utmost want of necessaries to support them. Besides, the island was not abandoned, till the expedition had cost us pretty dearly, as appears by the following account of our loss. There were killed in the first action, one major, two captains, and six lieutenants; and wounded, two colonels, seven captains, and nine lieutenants; and three ensigns died. One hundred and fifty-four soldiers were killed; two hundred and eleven wounded; seventy-two died; fifty-nine deserted; and twelve were taken prisoners.

to send another flag-officer thither with a considerable squadron. This command, it is said, was offered to Sir Stafford Fairborne, who refused it; and then it was proposed to Mr. Graydon, who, though a certain prelate styles him a brutal man, made this answer, "That it was his duty to go where the queen thought proper to command him, and that he knew no difference of climates when he was to obey her orders." His instructions may be found at large in Burchet, and the strength he was to take with him, consisting only of a third, a fourth, and a fifth rate; which last proved unfit for the voyage, and, therefore, the Montague of sixty, and the Nonsuch of fifty guns, were ordered to see him a hundred and fifty leagues into the sea. They sailed about the middle of March, and, on the 18th of that month, they saw four French ships to leeward, *viz.* two of sixty, one of fifty, and another of forty guns. This last, being both the smallest and sternmost, the Montague, commanded by Captain William Cleveland, bore down to, and soon after engaged her. Hereupon the vice-admiral made the signal for a line of battle, and consequently for the Montague's coming off; but her fore-top sail being shot in pieces, the second broadside she received from the enemy, she could not tack so soon as otherwise might have been expected, insomuch, that the other three French ships wore, and bearing down to the ship that had been engaged, each of them fired her broadside at the Montague; but she being to windward, and the sea running high, as the French generally fire in hopes of wounding masts, yards, or rigging, all their shot flew over her, so that she received not any considerable damage. The French ships, which now made the best of their way from ours, were foul, for they were part of the squadron under command of Monsieur Ducasse, with which Vice-admiral Benbow engaged in the West Indies, and (as it was reported) were very rich.

This affair drew very heavy reproaches on the admiral, who, notwithstanding, seems to have acted according to the best of his abilities; and in saying this, I am warranted by the judgment of the Admiralty-board, who were well acquainted with Mr. Graydon's instructions.* He proceeded with all imaginable diligence in his voyage, and arrived at the island of Madeira on the 10th of April, 1703; and from thence he sailed to Barbadoes, where he arrived on the 12th of May. The day before came a brigantine from Guadaloupe, with advice, that Commodore Walker was there, and that both seamen and soldiers were in danger of being starved for want of provisions. The vice-admiral thereupon applied himself to the agent-victualler, and having furnished himself with all the beef, pork, bread, and pease, that could be got, he sailed on the 17th. On the 20th, he ran in with the fort and town of Guadaloupe, and seeing it in ruins, he sailed instantly for Antigua, and from thence to Nevis, where he met with the army and squadron in the greatest distress; and, having relieved them, he proceeded thence with all the ships of war to Jamaica, where they arrived the 5th of June. The first thing he did there was, to direct a survey of the ships under his command; which proved to be very defective, not only in their hulls, but in their masts, stores, and rigging; and at the same time very ill-manned. This, together with some differences that arose between the admiral and some of the principal persons in Jamaica, determined him to sail home as soon as possible: and accordingly, having left the Norwich, the Experiment, and the Sea-Horse, with the Harman and Earl galley fire-ships, together with two sloops, to attend the island; and the Colchester and Sunderland to convoy home the latter trade, he sailed for Blewfields, and proceeding from thence, he fell in with Newfoundland on the 2d of August.

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* Bishop Burnet blames the Admiralty for inserting a paragraph in the Gazette, to justify the admiral's conduct. It is necessary the reader should see that paragraph, which runs thus: "Plymouth, April 26, The Montague, Captain Cleveland, commander, is come in here: the Nonsuch and she went from thence the 13th of March, with Vice-admiral Graydon, in the Resolution, Captain Day, in the Blackwall, the transports with Brigadier Columbine's regiment, store-ships, and merchants, bound to the West Indies, and parted from them on the 26th of the same, in the latitude of 43 degrees. The captain says, that on the 18th of that month, in the latitude of 47 degrees, 30 minutes, they met four French men of war, and that he engaged the sternmost for some time; but upon his first engaging, the vice admiral made a signal to call him off, being under orders not to lose any time in his passage, by chacing or speaking with any ships whatsoever; the contrary winds having kept him here much longer than was intended, and the service upon which he was bound very much requiring his presence, and the regiment that was with him." The single question that arose on this subject was, whether Admiral Graydon obeyed his orders? And this is plainly decided by the foregoing paragraph in the affirmative.

In the evening of that day there arose such a fog as had scarcely ever been seen; for it lasted thirty days complete, and the weather was so very dark, that it was difficult to discover one ship from another: this occasioned the dispersion of the fleet, which could not be brought together again till the 3d of September, when the vice-admiral thought it proper to consult his officers, as to the principal design of his voyage, which was, the attacking the French at Placentia, and thereby forcing them to quit Newfoundland. At this council of war there were present, besides the vice-admiral, Rear-admiral Whetstone, and thirteen sea-captains; of the land-officers, the commander in chief, Colonel Rivers, six captains, and an engineer. They took into consideration the queen's instructions to Brigadier Columbine, then deceased, and those to Mr. Graydon, and finding all their ships in a very weak condition, that they were thinly manned, and most of the sailors sick, already at short allowance, and the soldiers, through their being forced to drink water in so cold a climate, having their limbs benumbed, so that they were scarcely fit for service; five regiments reduced to one thousand

and thirty-five men; of five hundred they were to receive from New England, there came but seventy, now reduced to twenty-five, and those in a manner disabled; and, from the best accounts, the enemy at Placentia judged to be not only superior in number, and consequently able to make a good resistance, but the avenues to the place extremely difficult, the grounds marshy, and no planks or other materials for mounting the guns on the batteries; these difficulties and obstructions being maturely considered, together with the good circumstances that the enemy were in, and the assistance they might have from their privateers, and other shipping then at Placentia, the council of war were unanimously of opinion, that to make an attempt on that place with the ships and forces, in such a condition and at such a season of the year, was altogether impracticable; and, instead of any probability of success, might tend to the dishonour of her Majesty's arms.*

This was the end of Vice-admiral Graydon's unfortunate expedition; in which, though it is certain, on the one hand, that he did not do the nation any remarkable service, yet it is no less certain on the other, that in respect to protecting the trade, and the rest of the things in his power, he did all the service he was able. But it was his misfortune, first to feel the effects of other men's mistakes, and next, to be made answerable for them. On his return, the House of Lords entered into an inquiry into his conduct; and, besides their former warm vote, which was more than enough to have undone him, they came to a resolution of addressing her Majesty, to remove him from all employments, for impressing servants in the

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* I transcribe this from a MS. account of Admiral Graydon's defence, in which are particular certificates as to the truth of each of these facts, and which, I suppose, satisfied the House of Lords as to this part of the charge; which the admiral looked upon as that which would affect him most, since here he had not executed his orders, but avoided attacking the French.

West Indies; desiring her, at the same time, to direct the attorney-general to prosecute him for that offence. This had the desired effect: Vice-admiral Graydon, as to service, was laid aside, and his memory has been loaded with the foulest imputations; though there is great reason to believe, that he was rather unlucky than unjust, and that he suffered for miscarriages which it was not in his power to avoid. In order to have a clearer idea of this, we must consider that he justified himself as to his not fighting the French, under his orders, which were very precise upon that head; and, if he had not obeyed them, he must have been answerable for all the consequences before a court-martial; while, on the other hand, the lords, as the supreme judicature, decided in this case on the reason of the thing; and because, as they thought, the necessity of fighting ought, in his judgment, to have superseded his orders, yet, when he pleaded necessity in excuse of impressing servants, this would not serve his turn; but he was punished in that case as severely for making use of his own judgment, as for the supposed neglect of it in the other.

In all probability, the resentment of the House of Lords against this gentleman was sharpened by their inspecting closely into other affairs relating to the navy; in which, it must be confessed, they found things very indifferently managed. As, for instance, complaints had been made to the lord high-admiral, of bad provisions, by which the seamen were poisoned, as well as the nation cheated; yet a survey of the provisions objected to was delayed for three months, which gave an opportunity for making such removes and changes, as rendered the proof of this charge altogether impracticable. The merchants complained that they were ill served with convoys, and that so little care was taken of the Newcastle fleet, as occasioned an excessive rise of coals: the neglect of providing for such seamen as were prisoners in France, was likewise rendered very evident; as was the danger of the island of Jamaica, and the betraying our naval councils to the French. These were all digested into an address, which was presented by the House of Lords to the queen; to which her Majesty was pleased to answer, that the address consisted of so many parts, that she could not then take notice of them. In the general, however, she promised she would consider of them, and give such directions as should be proper for the safety and welfare of the nation.

I think it necessary to observe here, that at this time there were very warm disputes in the House of Lords, as to the conduct of the Admiralty in the late reign, which had been censured by the House of Commons, and in a great measure justified here; so that at this season all the strength of party was exerted on both sides, and the merit of a man was less considered, than the faction to which he attached himself.* But it is time to leave so troublesome and unentertaining a subject, in order to return to the conduct of the war, and the great things performed in the year 1704, for the service of which the commons granted upwards of four millions; which shews, how desirous the nation was of supporting the war to the utmost, and of giving whatever was necessary for the service of the common cause, in hopes that it would be honestly and effectually laid out, for those great and salutary purposes for which it was so chearfully given.

The king of Spain was very desirous of prosecuting his voyage to Lisbon, and therefore came to Portsmouth, and would have embarked on the third of

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* The queen, by soft answers, endeavoured to pacify both Houses, which indeed was the only measure left for her to pursue; since, if she had complied with the demands of either, it must have inflamed both. Her prudence, therefore, in this respect, was very conspicuous; though perhaps the best step she could have taken, would have been to have dismissed his royal highness's council as lord-high-admiral, and either restored the earl of Pembroke or appointed commissioners.

February, if the wind had been at all favourable. Sir George Rooke, who was to command the fleet that escorted him, and the land forces intended for his service, did every thing that could be expected to facilitate the expedition: for when he found the transports were ready, and that it was impossible to have the intended number of great ships so early at sea, he proposed sailing with a small squadron to Lisbon, and waiting there for a reinforcement. This was a very wise, as well as vigorous step; for, according to the information our court had received of the designs of France, they intended to have had a great naval strength in the Mediterranean, which, if it came there earlier than our reinforcement, would have been able to have shut up our small fleet, then in those parts, in the river of Lisbon, and have intercepted all our trade homeward-bound; whereas if, according to Sir George's scheme, the supply arrived early enough at Lisbon, our fleet would be so strong as to prevent the junction of the Brest with the Toulon squadron, and to perform other requisite services on the coast of Spain.*

In the first part of his design, Sir George was as fortunate as he could wish; for sailing on the twelfth of February, he, after a fine passage, arrived with the squadron, and all the transports, in the river of Lisbon, on the 25th; and after two days had been spent in adjusting the ceremonial, his Catholic Majesty was conducted to shore by the king of Portugal, and most of the royal family. Among other debates in relation to this ceremony, there was one which deserves particular notice, and that was in relation to our flag. The king of Portugal desired, that, upon his coming on board the admiral's ship in his barge of state, and striking his standard, the English flag might be struck at the same time; and that when his Catholic Majesty, with himself, should go off from the ship, his standard might be hoisted, and the admiral's flag continue struck until they were on shore. This proposition was made from the king of Portugal, by the king of Spain; to which the admiral replied, that his Majesty, so long as he should be on board, might command the flag to be struck when he pleased; but that whenever he left the ship, he was himself admiral, and obliged to execute his commission by immediately hoisting his flag. This, and some other reasons, satisfied the king of Spain, as well as his Portuguese Majesty; so that the flag of England was no longer struck, than the standard of Portugal.*

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* This was certainly a very wise and well-judged scheme, and is a clear and direct proof that Sir George Rooke was very desirous of doing as much service as possible, and to lose no opportunity of being early in action; his going on this expedition, with the small squadron under his command, was liable to many exceptions, if considered in a prudential light, and with a view to the credit of the admiral; but Sir George disregarded these, when they came into competition with the public service, and chose rather to risk his own character, than the nation's honour, and the prospect the king of Spain then had of success, of which his Catholic Majesty was extremely sensible, and gave upon all occasions the most ample testimonies of his particular respect for Sir George Rooke, and just acknowledgment of his services.

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* We take this passage from the account published by authority; and I think I may venture to assert, that Sir George Rooke's concern for the honour of the flag became him very well, as an English admiral, whatever might be thought of it at home by some English statesmen. Bishop Burnet, speaking of our treaty with the king of Portugal, mentions a very extraordinary incident relating to this affair, which I find it necessary to transcribe. “In this treaty, an accident happened, that had almost spoiled all: the king of Portugal insisted on demanding the flag, and other respects to be paid by our admiral, when he was in his ports. The earl of Nottingham insisted it was a dishonour to England to strike, even in another king's ports. This was not demanded of the fleet that was sent to bring over Queen Katharine; so, though Methuen, our ambassador, had agreed to this article, he pressed the queen not to ratify it.”—The Lord Godolphin looked on this as too inconsiderable to be insisted on; the whole affairs of Europe seemed to turn upon this treaty, and so important a matter ought not to be retarded a day, for such punctilios, as a salute, or striking the flag; and it seemed reasonable, that every sovereign prince should claim these acknowledgments, unless where it was otherwise stipulated by express treaties. The laying so much weight on such mat-

Two days after this, the admiral, in compliance with the resolution of a council of war, sent a squadron of seventeen sail, to cruize off Cape Spartel; which squadron was afterwards increased to twenty-two sail. On the 9th of March the admiral himself put to sea, and continued cruizing for a month. Rear-admiral Dilkes, who commanded the squadron before-mentioned, on the twelfth of March in the morning, discovered four sail of ships standing to the N. E. He had with him three third rates, and two fourth, *viz.* the Kent, Bedford, Suffolk, Antelope, and Panther. By eleven he came up with them, and the Panther, which was the headmost of ours, and engaged them; the Suffolk getting the wind, did the same, as also the Antelope, and the Dutch privateer; insomuch, that the ship of sixty guns struck, after exchanging several broadsides. The rear-admiral could not get his own ship in reach of them until noon, and then engaging the commodore, which was a ship of sixty guns, she struck to him in a little time, having lost half her complement of men, as the third did soon after, which was a ship of twenty-four guns; and in this action the Panther had her fore-top-mast shot by the board, the Suffolk her main-mast, and the Antelope's masts and yards were wounded. The two ships before-mentioned of sixty guns, were galleon men of war, one of them called the Porta-Cœli, and the other the St. Theresa, and came from St. Sebastian's, with bombs, guns, iron bars, &c. being bound for Cadiz, where, as it was reported, they were to be fitted out for the West Indies, the Commodore Don Diego Bicuna having a

ters, very much heightened jealousies; and it was said, that the earl of Nottingham, and the Tories seemed to lay hold of every thing that could obstruct the progress of the war; while the round proceeding of the Lord Godolphin reconciled many to him."—The friends of the earl of Godolphin need be under no concern about this story, since it is most evident from the foregoing account of Sir George Rooke's conduct, that the fact is false, and that the honour of the English flag was never given up.

commission to command all the fleet designed thither; and in these ships were taken nearly seven hundred prisoners.

The rear-admiral, by reason of bad weather did not arrive at Lisbon till the twenty-fifth of March, and then in going in he lost the St. Theresa, but most of the men were saved. Sir George Rooke being also returned, and meeting with orders to sail up the Straits, prepared to execute them, though at the same time, the admiral was extremely pressed by his Catholic Majesty to undertake somewhat in his favour. The difficulties with which Sir George was at this time encompassed, were many and great. In the first place, the reinforcement he depended on was not arrived; in the next, the queen's orders were positive for the relief of Nice and Villa Franca; and he knew how great a risk he ran, in case either of those places were taken for want of timely succour. The design formed in favour of King Charles III. to invade Catalonia, and make an attempt on Barcelona, was almost ripe for execution, and that monarch insisted very strenuously that the fleet should escort this embarkation. In this thorny conjuncture the admiral resolved to do as much as in him lay to satisfy all parties; and we shall hereafter see with how great judgment he executed this resolution: in the mean time it is necessary that we should explain the conduct of the administration in regard to the expedition of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

After Sir George Rooke sailed, the court received intelligence, that the French were very busy in fitting out a great squadron at Brest. This alarmed us very much, because it was not easy to foresee how this force would be employed. At all events it was thought proper to equip, with the utmost expedition, a good fleet, which was put under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, admiral of the white, who had under him Sir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red, and George Byng, Esq. then rear-admiral of the same squadron. The admiral was instructed, if he found the Brest squadron still in port, to send away the trade, store-ships, and victuallers, under a proper convoy, to Lisbon, and to remain before that port himself to endeavour to keep in the enemy; or, if that was found impracticable, to burn and destroy them if they came out. But in case he found the Brest squadron already sailed, then he was to call a council of war, in order to judge what strength might be necessary to be sent to Sir George Rooke; and if it amounted to twenty-two ships, then he was to sail with them himself, that our fleet might, at all events, be stronger than that of the enemy. Sir Cloudesley executed his instructions punctually, and finding that a great strength was necessary in the Mediterranean to oppose the French, he sailed thither about the latter end of the month of May.

We have now seen how and why the succours intended for Sir George Rooke's fleet, were so long delayed, and what care was taken for their coming, after all, in good time; we will next therefore return to that admiral, and give a short account of the manner in which he extricated himself out of the difficulties in which we left him. In the first place he signified to the prince of Hesse, who had the chief direction of his Catholic Majesty's affairs, that if the troops which were to make the attempt on Barcelona, could be speedily embarked, he was content to escort them, and to give all imaginable countenance to his Majesty's affairs in Catalonia. In compliance with this offer, he sailed accordingly with the transports under his convoy, and on the eighteenth of May he arrived before the city of Barcelona. A priest and some others surrendered themselves, and informed the prince of Hesse, that if a few forces were landed, and a shew made of a bombardment, they would declare for King Charles III. and receive him into the place. Upon this there landed, on the nineteenth of May, about twelve hundred marines, four hundred Dutch foot, a company of Catalans, and as many volunteers as made up in the whole two thousand men. They remained ashore all night; and the prince finding nothing done, notwithstanding the Dutch had bombarded the place with some effect, his highness himself proposed the re-embarking the men, from an apprehension of their being attacked by a superior force. The truth is, that he had great reason to abandon this design as he did, since, in the first place, the governor had discovered it, and had secured the chiefs of the Austrian party; and, in the next, the force he had with him was not at all proportioned to such an undertaking.*

In this whole transaction one would imagine the admiral must have been blameless, since he had done all that could be expected from him, and did not retire till his highness himself thought it requisite. Yet Bishop Burnet has given such an account of it, as I must take the liberty of transcribing, that the public may see how necessary it is for an historian to be free from party. " Sir George Rooke came before Barcelona, where the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt assured him, there were a strong party ready to declare for King Charles, as it was certain there was a great disposition in many to it. But Rooke would not stay above three days before it; so that the motions within the town, and the discoveries that many made of their inclinations, had almost proved fatal to them. He answered, his orders were positive; he must make towards Nice, which it was believed the French intended to besiege." At this rate of writing, no man's fame or memory can be safe. Yet, to heighten the malice of this reflection, and to mislead the reader, if possible, still more egregiously, the bishop tells us a long story, previously to this account, of the admiral's reprimanding one of his captains very severely, for departing from his orders,* though the intelligence he brought, is supposed to have saved the fleet of England, and of his avoiding the French fleet, and joining Sir Cloudesley Shovel. All of which, to speak in the softest terms, seems to have been without any foundation.

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* There was certainly a very strong party in Barcelona for King Charles, and if they had felt courage enough to have declared on the first arrival of the fleet, and had marched out, and joined the land forces as soon as they had debarked, something might have been done, but they continued consulting and intriguing, till the governor seized their chiefs, and then they themselves advised the prince of Hesse not to remain any longer before the place, on account of its being equally inconvenient for him and them.

The admiral landed his troops before Barcelona, on the nineteenth of May; it was the twenty-seventh before they had any intelligence of the Brest squadron; and then, instead of shunning, they chaced them; and on the sixteenth of June, the fleet was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the ships under his command; upon which it was immediately resolved, to proceed up the Mediterranean, in search of the French fleet. The whole of this affair was so perfectly well conducted, that our allies and our enemies join in commending Sir George Rooke; and yet his memory is in danger of suffering with posterity, merely because he was esteemed a Tory. This it was that drew upon him so many and so severe reflections, ob scured all the great actions he did, and forced men, who valued themselves on their skill in writing, not only to misrepresent, but to falsify facts, that they might be able to cast such imputations upon him as he never deserved.

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* In a grand debate in the House of Lords, in 1740, this fact happening to be touched upon by a noble peer, who was speaking in that august assembly, the late illustrious John duke of Argyle, rose up and said, "As for what has been mentioned in relation to Admiral Rooke, we know, my lords, the history from which it was taken. It is a story of Bishop Burnet's, in his History of his own Times, and those who have sat in this house with that prelate must know he was a very credulous weak man. I remember him, my lords, in this house, and I likewise remember, that my Lord Halifax, my Lord Somers, and his other friends in the house, were always in a terror when he rose up to speak, lest he should injure their cause by some blunder. With regard to what he says against Admiral Rooke, I know I have heard it from those that were present, that the greatest part of it is a downright lie. The bishop, it is well known, was no friend to that admiral, and therefore he easily gave credit, as he generally did in like cases, to every malicious story he heard against him." The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. vii.

On the twenty-first of May the admiral steered for the isles of Hieres, but in the passage met with a storm, which separated his fleet. On the twenty-seventh they joined again, and had sight of a large French squadron, which they rightly judged to be sailing for Toulon; and therefore it was resolved, in a council of war, to chace them thither, and if it was not possible to prevent their getting into that port, then to sail for Lisbon, in order to wait for a re-inforcement; which was accordingly done. On the fourteenth of June our fleet passed through the Straits'-mouth, and were joined two days after by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with his squadron off Lagos: a council of war was then called, in order to consider what service should be proceeded on. Several schemes were proposed, particularly a second attack on Cadiz, which was soon found to be impracticable for want of a sufficient number of land-forces. At this council of war the admiral also was pleased to declare, that he was limited by his instructions from attempting any thing, without the consent of the kings of Spain and Portugal; which was another discouragement to the service, because those princes could very seldom agree on any measure; so that, except sending some ships to the Terceras, in order to protect the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, there was little done, that I can find, which ought to be considered as the unavoidable consequence of this order.

Sir George Rooke being very sensible of the reflections that would fall upon him, if, having so considerable a fleet under his command, he spent the summer in doing nothing of importance, called a council of war on the seventeenth of July, in the road of Tetuan, where having declared that he thought it requisite they should resolve upon some service or other; after a long debate it was carried to make a sudden and vigorous attempt upon Gibraltar, for three reasons: First, because in the condition the place then was, there was some probability of taking it; which, in case it had been properly provided, and there had been in it a numerous garrison, would have been impossible. Secondly, because the possession of that place was of infinite importance during the present war. Thirdly, because the taking of this place would give a lustre to the queen's arms, and possibly dispose the Spaniards to favour the cause of King Charles.

The fleet, in pursuance of this resolution, arrived in the Bay of Gibraltar on the twenty-first of July, and the marines, English and Dutch, to the number of eighteen hundred, were landed under the command of the prince of Hesse, on the Isthmus, to cut off all communication between the town and the continent. His highness having taken post there, summoned the governor; who answered, that he would defend the place to the last. On the twenty-second the admiral at break of day, gave the signal for cannonading the town; which was performed with such vigour, that fifteen thousand shot was spent in five hours; when the admiral perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south mole-head, and that if we were once possessed of these, the town must be taken of course, he ordered Captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and to attempt to make himself master of them.

This order was no sooner issued, than Captain Hicks and Captain Jumper, who were nearest the mole, pushed on shore with their pinnaces, and actually seized the fortifications before the rest could come up. The Spaniards seeing this, sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and about sixty more wounded: however, they kept possession of the great platform, till they were sustained by Captain Whitaker, and the seamen under his command, who very soon made himself master of a redoubt, between the mole and the town; on which the admiral sent in a letter to the governor, who on the twenty-fourth capitulated, and the prince of Hesse took possession of the place. I must, upon this occasion, observe, that as this design was contrived by the admirals, so it was executed entirely by the seamen, and therefore the whole honour of it is due to them. I must likewise put the reader in mind, that nothing could have enabled the seamen to take the place, but the cannonading of it in such a manner, as obliged the Spaniards to quit their posts; for the general officers, who viewed the fortifications after the place was in our hands, declared, that they might have been defended by fifty men against as many thousands. The French indeed say, in order to diminish, as much as possible, the glory of this action, that the Spaniards had neither garrison nor guns there; but this is far from being true, since there were above one hundred brass pieces mounted. After putting as many men as could be spared into the place, under the command of the prince of Hesse, the fleet sailed to Tetuan, in order to take in wood and water.

While they lay here, the Dutch admiral sent a flag-officer and six ships to Lisbon, under orders to return home, and a promise that he would quickly follow them. On the ninth of August they sailed again from Gibraltar, and had sight of the French fleet, which they resolved to engage. The latter declined coming to action, and endeavoured to get away; but Sir George pursued them with all the sail he could make. On the thirteenth of the same month, which was Sunday, he came within three leagues of them, when they brought to with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, and forming a line, lay in a proper posture to receive him. They were fifty-two ships, and twenty-four gallies, very strong in the centre, but weaker in the van and rear; to supply which, most of their gallies were placed in those squadrons. In the centre was Count Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, with the white squadron; in the van the white and blue flag, and in the rear the blue, each admiral having his vice and rear-admiral. Our fleet consisted of fifty-three ships; but the admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, two fourth-rates, with a fifth and a sixth, and two fire-ships, to lie to windward of him, that if the enemy's van should push through our line with their gallies and fire-ships, they might give them some diversion.

A little after ten in the morning, our fleet bore down in order of battle, and when they came within half gun-shot of the enemy, the French set all their sails at once, as if they intended to stretch a-head and weather us; so that our admiral, after firing a chace-gun at the French admiral to stay for him, of which he took no notice, threw abroad the signal, and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the Royal Catherine, the St. George, and the Shrewsbury. About two in the afternoon the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away by the help of their gallies to leeward. In the night the wind shifted to the northward, and in the morning to the westward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day within three leagues of each other, repairing our defects, and at night they filed and stood to the northwards. Our fleet endeavoured the two next days to renew the fight, but the French avoided it, and at last bore away.

This plainly discovers that we had the victory, notwithstanding the great advantages of the French: which I think those who understand maritime affairs, will allow to be as great as ever any fleet had. For first, their ships were bigger; they had seventeen three-deck ships, and we had but seven. Secondly, they had a great advantage in their weight of metal; for they had six hundred guns more than we. Thirdly, they were clean ships, just come out of port; whereas ours had been long at sea, and had done hard service. Fourthly, they had the assistance of their gallies; and how great an advantage this was, will appear from hence, that about the middle of the fight, the French admiral ordered a seventy-gun ship to board the Monk, a sixty-gun ship of ours, commanded by Captain Mighells; which she did, and was beat off three times, and after every repulse she had her wounded men taken off, and her compliment restored by the gallies. Fifthly, the French fleet was thoroughly provided with ammunition; which was so much wanted in ours, that several ships were towed out of the line, because they had not either powder or ball sufficient for a single broadside. But the skill of the admiral, and the bravery of the officers and seamen under his command, supplied all defects, and enabled them to give the French so clear a proof of their superiority over them in all respects at sea, that they not only declined renewing the fight at present, but avoided us ever after, and durst not venture a battle on that element during the remainder of the war. It may be therefore justly said, that the battle of Malaga decided the empire of the sea, and left to us and the Dutch an indisputed claim to the title of MARITIME POWERS.

It is true, that the French, according to their old custom, claimed the victory. Louis XIV. wrote a letter, affirming this to the archbishop of Paris, directing *Te Deum* to be sung on that occasion, and afterwards published an account, which I shall give the reader as near as may be from the Gazette, and I shall then demonstrate, that the whole was no more than an artifice of state,* in order to lessen the ill-consequences that were apprehended from the defeat; and therefore, it is no less injurious to the glory of this nation, than to the honour of Sir George Rooke's memory, to make use of the distorted tales in this relation, to prejudice the indubitable facts contained in ours. The substance of this French account was:

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* I think it necessary to give the reader a transcript of this letter, from the French king to Cardinal Noailles, because, two

"That, before the fight, the admiral ordered all the ships to make ready; but the sea being calm, he gave directions for the gallies to prepare to tow the men of war off to sea. But at day-break the whole fleet weighed by favour of a breeze that blew gently from the land, and made towards the enemy, whom the currents had carried out to sea. The twenty-fourth, their fleet, in a line of battle, came up with the enemy; the Marquis De Vilette, lieutenant-general, commanded the vanguard, having behind him in a second line the duke of Tursis, with his own squadron of seven gallies, and five of Spain. The

great politicians have differed much about it. Bishop Burnet says, that from the coldness of this letter, it was concluded in England, that the French were beat; so that, in his judgment, this letter was the best evidence of our victory. Mr. Oldmixon thinks just the contrary; the reader, by perusing the letter, will be able to judge for himself:

"Cousin,

"The fleet which I have assembled in the Mediterranean, under the command of my son the Count De Thoulouse, admiral of France, has not only disappointed the designs which the joint fleets of England and Holland had upon the coasts of Catalonia, but has also put a glorious end to the campaign, by a general engagement, which issued wholly to my advantage, though the enemies were considerably more in number, and had a favorable wind. The first efforts were sustained, and repulsed with so much valour by all the officers and equipage of my ships, animated by the example of their general, that the enemies could think of nothing during the fight, which lasted ten hours, but how to defend themselves, how to avoid being boarded several times by my ships, and to secure themselves by a retreat; and though the Count De Thoulouse did all he could the two following days to come up with them, he could not bring them to a second engagement. This happy success obliges me to return thanks to God, by public prayers."

Count De Thoulouse commanded the centre, having behind him the Marquis De Royes with four gallies, and the Marquis De Langeron had the command of the rear-guard with eight French gallies, under command of the Count De Tourville. The enemy's van-guard was commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel; the centre by Sir George Rooke; and the rear-guard were the Dutch ships, commanded by Vice-admiral Callemberg. They had sixty ships of the line, many frigates almost as large, and bomb-vessels that did them good service. Sir Cloudesley Shovel advanced before the wind, separating himself from the centre; but observing that the Marquis De Vilette endeavoured to surround him, he kept to the wind, and Sir George Rooke seeing the danger he was in, bore upon the king's fleet. The fight began about ten o'clock, north and south off Malaga, ten or eleven leagues from shore, and lasted till night. The fire was extraordinary on both sides, and notwithstanding the enemy had the advantage of the wind, which blew the smoke upon the French fleet, they always kept as near the wind as they could, while the Count De Thoulouse made all possible efforts to approach them. The Marquis De Vilette had so roughly used the van of the enemy, having obliged five of their ships to quit their line, that he would have entirely put the same into disorder, had not a bomb fallen upon his stern, and set it on fire; which obliged him to quit the line, and extinguish the fire. Another bomb fell on the ship of the Sieurs De Belleisle, who quitted the line to refit, as did likewise the Sieur De Grancy, Osmont, Rouvroy, Pontac, and Roche Allard. The latter fought the ship of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, of ninety guns, though he had but sixty. The Sieur Chammeslin boarded three times a ship of the enemy, but quitted the same, seeing she was on fire in several places, but because of the smoke, could not see whether sunk. The bailiff of Lorrain was killed with a cannon-shot, and the Sieur De Relingue had a leg shot off. They were the Count De Thoulouse's two seconds, and distinguished themselves very much, following the example of their general. The enemy continuing to sheer off, the fight with the van ended about five, with the centre about seven, and with the rear towards night. The French fleet pursued with all their lights out; whereas the enemy, their flag-ships excepted, had none. The twenty-fifth the wind blowing again from the west, the enemy sailed towards the coast of Barbary, so that they lost sight of them at night. The twenty-sixth, in the morning, they were seen again about four leagues distance, the wind having again shifted to the east, which gave them a fair opportunity to renew the fight, but they did not think fit to approach. They were not heard of afterwards; whereupon it was judged they had re-passed the Straits, and this obliged the Count De Thoulouse to return the twenty-seventh to Malaga, with the gallies. We had about fifteen hundred men killed or wounded. But we do not know the loss of the enemy, which must be very great; and several persons said, that two of their ships sunk."*

I shall mention but one objection to this account, because I think I need not mention any more, and it is this, that whenever the French endeavour to account for their not pushing the affair farther, they insist on the mischief done them by the English bombs; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that there was not a single bomb-vessel in the English fleet. As to the force on both sides, and the loss of each, I shall give a particular account at the bottom of the page,† and having done this, I believe I need add nothing to shew the folly of the French academy's causing a medal to be struck upon this occasion, as if,

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* See the Complete History of Europe, for 1704, p. 787. Histoire Militaire, tom. iv.

† The English fleet, at the time of this battle, consisted of five divisions besides the Dutch, of which there were but eleven ships.

The strength of the fleet will particularly appear from the following list, transmitted from the admiral to the queen.

	Ships Names.	Men.	Guns.	Men slain.	Wounded.
Admiral's division.	Royal Catherine	730	90	27	94
	St. George	680	96	45	93
	Namure	680	96	18	44
	Shrewsbury	500	80	31	73
	Nassau	440	70	15	26
	Grafton	440	70	31	66
	Monmouth	440	70	27	62
	Montague	365	60	15	34
	Panther	280	50	10	16
		4755	682	219	508
Sir Cloudesley Shovel's.	Barfleur	710	96	6	24
	Eagle	440	70	7	57
	Orford	440	70	6	9
	Assurance	440	66	6	14
	Warspight	440	70	17	44
	Swiftsure	440	70	13	33
	Nottingham	365	60	7	19
	Tilbury	280	40	20	25
	Lenox	440	70	23	78
		3995	612	105	303
Sir J. Leake's.	Prince George	700	90	15	57
	Boyne	500	80	14	52
	Newarke	500	80	15	32
	Norfolk	500	80	15	20
	Yarmouth	440	70	7	26
	Berwick	440	70	23	24
		3080	470	89	211
Rear-admiral Byng's.	Ranelagh	535	83	24	45
	Somerset	500	80	31	62
	Firme	440	70	25	48
	Triton	230	50	5	21
	Dorsetshire	500	82	12	20
	Torbay	500	80	21	50
	Essex	440	70	13	36
	Kingston	365	60	14	46
	Centurion	280	56	10	31
		3790	631	155	361
Rear-adm. Dilkes's.	Kent	400	70	15	26
	Royal Oak	500	76	20	33
	Swallow	280	50	1	3
	Cambridge	500	80	11	27
	Bedford	440	70	12	51
	Monk	365	60	36	52
	Suffolk	440	70	13	33
	Burford	440	70	11	19
		3765	540	119	249
	Total	19,385	2935	687	1632

	Slain	687
	Wounded	1632
Total killed and wounded	English	2319
	Dutch	400
	Total	2719

Commission officers slain; captains, Sir Andrew Leake, and Captain Cow: lieutenants four, and warrant officers two. Commission officers wounded; Captains, Mynge, Baker, Jumper, Mighells, Kirkson; lieutenants thirteen; warrant-officers, thirteen.

As to the French fleet, it consisted of three squadrons; the first, sixteen ships of the line, carrying in all, 1120 guns, and 7700 men; the white squadron in the centre, consisting of 17 ships, carrying 1271 guns, 8500 men; the blue division in the rear, consisting of 17 ships, which carried 1152 guns, 7625 men. In all, 3533 guns, 24,155 men. Besides this, they had nine frigates, as many fire-ships, 12 French and 11 Spanish gallies, with two flutes; in all, 92 sail. On their side was slain, a rear-admiral, five captains, six lieutenants, and five sea ensigns. The Count De Thouinstead of being defeated, the French had gained a victory worthy the notice of posterity.*

After the English had in vain endeavoured to renew the fight, they repaired to Gibraltar, where they continued eight days in order to refit; and having supplied that place to the utmost of their power with ammunition and provision, it was thought convenient to return to England, care being first taken to provide such a squadron for the Mediterranean service as might secure our trade, and render any designs of the enemy abortive. On the twenty-fourth of August the admiral sailed from Gibraltar; on the twenty-sixth he gave orders to Sir John Leake, to take upon him the command of the squadron that was to remain in the Mediterranean during the winter, and then sailed home with the rest, where he arrived safely on the twenty-fourth of September, and was received with all exterior marks of esteem by the ministry, at the same time that the populace shewed for him an unfeigned affection.

But though Sir George Rooke had been happy enough to beat the French under great disadvantages, yet he was not able to baffle that spirit of envy by which he had been so long persecuted. There was a party that not only questioned his conduct and the

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louse himself wounded in the forehead, shoulder, and thigh; the Count De Religues had his leg shot off. The Marquis De Herbault, intendant of the fleet; Monsieur Ducasse, commodore of a squadron; M. De Chateau Regnault; the Count De Philipeaux; the Count De Cominges; M. De Valincourt; the Count De Thoulouse's secretary; seven captains, eight lieutenants, and about one hundred and fifty other officers were wounded; as to the loss of private men, it amounted, in the whole, to 3048.

* In this extraordinary medal, Spain is represented sitting, and her arm leaning on a pillar, with victory over her head; the legend thus: *Oræ Hispanicæ Securitas*, i. e. The security of the Spanish coasts. To shew how this was attained, we read in the exergue, *Anglorum et Batavorum classe fugata ad Malagam, XXIV. Augusti, M.DCC,IV.* i. e. The English and Dutch fleet beat at Malaga, 24th of August, 1704. Gerard Vanloon, Histoire Metallique des bays, tome iv.

late victory, but were willing to sacrifice the glory of their country, and, as far as in them lay, to propagate the idle stories invented by the French, as undoubted truths, purely to gratify their own spleen; and this too in direct contradiction to the voice of the nation, as appeared by the many addresses presented to the queen, in which the courage, conduct, and fortune of Sir George Rooke are highly extolled. To put this matter, however, out of doubt, and to shew the true sense of the queen and the ministry on this subject, it was thought proper that his royal highness Prince George, should introduce such officers of the fleet, as had deserved best, to her Majesty: and accordingly on the ninth of October he presented, first, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand; then Captain John Jennings, commander of the St. George, upon whom her Majesty was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood, and on the 22d or 24th of the same month, George Byng, Esq. and Thomas Dilkes, Esq. the former rear-admiral of the red, and the latter of the white squadron, were likewise knighted.

When the parliament came to sit, which was on the twenty-third of October, new disputes arose, and great pains were taken to prevent Sir George Rooke's conduct from meeting with public approbation: this, however, was without success; for the House of Commons, in their address, made use of these words: "We beg leave to congratulate your Majesty upon the great and glorious successes with which it has pleased God to bless your Majesty in the entire defeat of the united forces of France and Bavaria, by the arms of your Majesty and your allies, under the command, and by the courage and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, and in the victory obtained by your Majesty's fleet, under the command, and by the courage and conduct of Sir George Rooke." As it was known that these expressions gave offence to many of the warmest friends of the ministry, who thought there was no comparison between the victories gained at Blenheim and Malaga, the House thought fit to express its sentiments more clearly; and having, on the second of November, taken into their serious consideration the services both of the fleet and the army, they unanimously voted, "That her Majesty be desired to bestow her bounty upon the seamen and land forces, who had behaved themselves so gallantly in the late actions both by sea and land." To which her Majesty very graciously answered, "That she would give her directions accordingly." One would have imagined, that acts of so solemn a nature must have silenced such as pretended to doubt the services performed by the admiral and the fleet; and yet it hath since appeared, that some of our historians, and many of our memoir-writers, have attempted to persuade us, that, notwithstanding these decisions of the queen and parliament, the fleet did little or nothing, and that the fight at Malaga was a drawn battle; in which, however, they differ from the Dutch, who confess that it was the best fought action recorded in history; and that the skill of Sir George Rooke convinced the French, that it was in vain any longer to contest with the maritime powers the empire of the sea.

Before we conclude the naval transactions of this year, it is necessary that we should again pass into the Mediterranean, in order to take a view of the services performed there by Sir John Leake. The Spaniards, who were the best judges, found our possession of Gibraltar so great a thorn in their sides, that as they very lately prevailed on the French to hazard an engagement at sea, to facilitate their retaking of it, so they afterwards demanded and obtained a squadron of French ships, under the command of Mons. De Pointis, to assist them in carrying on the siege. The prince of Hesse having sent early advice of this to Lisbon, Sir John Leake, in the beginning of the month of October, proceeded with his squadron to the relief of the place, and actually landed several gunners, carpenters, and engineers, with a body of four hundred marines; but receiving intelligence, that the French were approaching with a force much superior to his, he found it necessary to return again to Lisbon.

He did this with a view only to refit, and to be in a better condition to supply and assist the garrison in a second expedition, for which he had very prudently directed preparations to be made in his absence. This enabled him to put to sea again on the twenty-fifth of October, and on the twenty-ninth he entered the Bay of Gibraltar at a very critical juncture; for that very night the enemy intended to storm the town on all sides, and had procured two hundred boats from Cadiz, in order to have landed three thousand men near the new mole. But Sir John Leake entered so suddenly, that he surprised in the bay two frigates, one of 42, and the other of 24 guns, a brigantine of 14, a fire-ship of 16, a store-ship full of bombs and granadoes, two English prizes; and a Tartane and another frigate of thirty guns, which had just got out of the bay, was taken by an English ship that followed her.*

The enemy, notwithstanding these discouragements, continued the siege in expectation of a strong naval succour from France, and therefore Sir John Leake resolved to land as many men as he could spare, to reinforce the garrison; which he performed on the second, third, and fourth of November, and continued still on the coast in order to alarm and distress the enemy. On the nineteenth and twentieth, he ordered his smallest frigates to go as near the shore as possible, and then manned all his boats, as if he intended a descent; but this was done so slowly, and the troops feigned such a reluctancy to land, as gave the Spanish general time to draw down a great body of cavalry, which enabled the admiral to put his design in execution, and to salute them in such a manner with his great and small arms, as made them scamper back to their camp with great precipitation. The Centurion arrived on the twenty-second of November, and brought in with her a French prize from Martinico, very richly laden; and, at the same time, gave the admiral intelligence, that he had sailed as far as was convenient into the Bay of Cadiz, and had discovered a very strong squadron there, which he apprehended would soon be in a condition to sail. Upon this and some other intimations, Sir John Leake resolved to put to sea, and to stand with his fleet to the eastward of Gibraltar, that he might be the better able to take such measures as should be found necessary, as well for the preservation of the place, as for securing the succours that were expected from Lisbon.

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* Not only our own writers, but even the Marquis De Quincy acknowledges the truth of this fact: he likewise tells us of an attempt made by 500 men, who crawled up the mountains, and appeared on the back of the town: which they would have certainly taken, if they had been properly supported; but he says nothing of the English forcing them over the precipice, and leaving their mangled carcasses a melancholy mark of their own rashness, and their countrymen's cowardice.

On the seventh of December arrived the Antelope, with nine transports under her convoy; and two days afterwards the Newcastle with seven more, having on board nearly two thousand land troops. They escaped the French fleet very luckily; for when they were off Cape Spartel they had sight of Monsieur Pointis's squadron consisting of twenty-four sail of men of war, under English and Dutch colours. As they expected to meet the confederate fleet under Sir John Leake and Rear-admiral Vanderdussen in those parts, they did their utmost to join them; but by good fortune were becalmed. They put their boats to sea on both sides to tow the ships; but the English observing that the men of war stretched themselves, and endeavoured to make a half-moon to surround them, they made a private signal, which Sir

John Leake would have understood. This spoiled the measures of the French, who were thereby discovered, and put up their colours, and endeavoured to fall upon the transports; but they escaped by means of their oars; and the night coming on, they got away by favour of a small breeze from the south-west. By the arrival of these succours, the garrison was increased to upwards of three thousand men; and having already obtained many advantages over the enemy, it was no longer thought requisite to keep the fleet, which by long service was now but in an indifferent condition, either in the bay, or on the coast, especially when it was considered that Mons. Pointis was so near with a force equal, if not superior to that of Sir John Leake. The prince of Hesse having acknowledged this to be reasonable, the admiral called a council of war on the twenty-first of December, and having laid before them the true state of the case, it was unanimously resolved to sail with all convenient speed to Lisbon in order to refit, and to provide further supplies for the garrison, in case, as the Spaniards gave out, they should receive such reinforcements from King Louis and King Philip, as would enable them to renew the siege both by land and sea. This resolution was as speedily executed as wisely taken, and the fleet arrived at Lisbon in the latter end of 1704, where we shall leave them in order to return to what was doing at home, and the preparations made for carrying on the war by sea with greater vigour in the next year than they had been at any time since the beginning of this dispute.

It was a common complaint at this juncture, that we did not prosecute the war at sea with so much vigour as might have been expected from a nation so powerful on that element: that the enemy's taking our ships was a reproach on the nation, which ought to fall under the notice of parliament. In answer to this, I mean in the House of Commons, it was said, that though the facts could not be denied, yet on the other hand it must be allowed, that the Board of Admiralty could not do more than the supplies granted by parliament would enable them; and that therefore, if more was expected from, more ought to have been done for them. This was chiefly said by the admirals and their friends, who were very numerous. The house having considered the whole affair with great attention, came at length, on the seventh of November, 1704, to the following resolutions; *viz.* That forty thousand seamen should be allowed for the year 1705, including eight thousand marines. On the ninth they resolved that one hundred thousand pounds should be allowed for the ordinary of the navy for the same year; and that forty thousand pounds should be given to the office of ordnance for the sea service, over and above the usual provision; and that ten thousand pounds should be given for making a wharf and store-house at Portsmouth. These were great and glorious provisions, such as shewed that the people were desirous not to spare their treasure, where the credit of the crown and their own interest were at stake.

Yet in the latter end of this, and in the beginning of the succeeding year, certain inquiries were made in the House of Lords, which did as great honour to that assembly, as they gave pain to some in the administration. A great clamour had been raised against the prince's council, for not giving sufficient attention to merchants, and for having very little regard to the resentment shewn by that house against certain persons, and certain proceedings. Lord Haversham's, and some other lords warm speeches, raised a great heat; but before any address was made to the queen, two committees of inquiry were appointed; one to inspect the books at the admiralty office, in order to see exactly what conduct the board had pursued, and the other to consider what was done at sea. This was certainly a very clear and methodical way of acting, and contributed to the laying open all the wrong steps that had been winked at, either on account of private friendships, or through the prejudices of party.

In the first place, the house observed, that twenty-two ships had been employed to cruize the whole summer, and they shewed, from their accounts returned to the admiralty-office, that they had performed their duty so negligently, as not to have done more, than what three ships, commanded by active captains, might have been justly expected to do. They likewise complained, that there were ten flags in pay, three of which were not at sea; that Mr. Churchill had not been at sea in any one year this war; that Mr. Graydon had been a-shore all the last year, and that he had been employed, notwithstanding a former address for his discharge; that Sir James Wishart, though a rear-admiral, had the last year been Sir George Rooke's captain; that Sir John Munden, though he had not done his duty, had a pension of three hundred and nineteen pounds a-year, &c. Though the queen could not be very well pleased with an address which reflected on the supineness of her royal consort, yet she concealed her dislike; and answered, Feb. 5, "Your address contains many observations, which I will consider particularly, and give such directions upon them, as may be most for the advantage of the public service."*

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* This address of the lords was presented to the queen on the 5th of February, 1704-5. It is, without question, one of the most valuable state papers extant, as it is a noble instance of the true spirit of an English parliament. It shews, how inquiries may, and ought to be conducted, and how agreeable it is to the nature of our constitution to lay before the crown, and exhibit to the people true representations of the state of public affairs, that men may see how the money goes, which is said to be raised for their service, and not look upon the public as a bad steward, that receives and pays without account. This, I will be bold to say, was the reason that this war was carried on so much cheaper than our naval armaments have been ever since: for, when inquiries are frequent, frauds seldom happen; but when these are either discouraged, made only for form, or so turned as to serve the little purposes of parties, who,

Thus, between the two houses, the business of the nation, with respect to naval affairs, was very fully done. The lords took care to correct, or at least to point out, what was amiss in past transactions; and the commons made ample provision for the thorough supply of whatever was necessary in times to come. Yet in doing all this, some sharp expressions escaped, especially in the House of Peers, which certainly flowed rather from a zeal to party, than any love to justice; which gave such disgust to Sir George Rooke, that, after all the honours had been paid him, he declined any further command, as desiring that the queen might be easy, and the nation well served, rather than that any opportunities might be given him of adding either to his reputation or estate. This is the true state of the case, as far as I have been able to learn; nor can I believe, what some warm people have ventured to assert, that the lord treasurer, Godolphin, procured Sir George to be laid aside, in order to gratify the duke of Marlborough; a suggestion better becoming the narrow spirit of a party-writer, than the wisdom of that great lord, or the known calmness and equanimity of the noble duke.*

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under colour of discovering the faults of a ministry, mean no more than to become ministers themselves; things must go from bad to worse, and a spirit of plundering insinuate itself through all public offices.

* Mr. Hornby, the reputed author of the famous "Caveat against the Whigs," which is now become extremely scarce, gives the following reflections on the disgrace of this great admiral. "In 1704," says he "Sir George Rooke, with a crew of cabin-boys, took the almost impregnable fortress of Gibraltar; so that, at the same time, British trophies were erected eastward as far as the banks of the Danube, and her flags were seen waving on the towers of the most western part of Europe, where Hercules fixed his *ne plus ultra*. After this, under great disadvantages, both in the number, rates, and condition of his ships, and, above all, in the want of ammunition, he so far convinced the French how unequal a match they were for us on the watry element, that they never after ventured to equip another royal navy; yet, how were his services undervalued by the faction here! Gibraltar, which was able to defy the power of Spain, and to baffle and waste their army in a fruitless siege, and

In consequence of this measure, however brought about, a sort of thorough change ensued in the admiralty. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was appointed rear-admiral of England, and admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; Sir John Leake was appointed vice-admiral of the white squadron, as Sir George Byng was of the blue; Sir Thomas Dilkes, rear-admiral of the red; William Whetstone, Esq. rear-admiral of the white, and Sir John Jennings, rear-admiral of the blue. I have thrown these debates and promotions into the most regular order I could, for the reader's ease and my own, that I might the sooner return to action, and to the exploits of our sea force, under these new commanders; and though I have not observed the strict rules of chronology, yet, as the promotions were the effect of the enquiries, I hope the reader will be satisfied with my manner of stating them. These formalities thus settled, let us now proceed to the transactions of the fleet, under the command of Sir John Leake in the Mediterranean, who shewed no less prudence and fortitude in pre-

which is likely to continue to future ages, an honour to our arms, and a safeguard to our commerce, was a place of no strength or value, and the engagement at sea was celebrated with lampoons, instead of congratulations. Neither his actions in this war, nor in the last, his conduct in saving our Turkey fleet, or his courage in destroying the French ships at La Hogue, could prevail with them to allow him any share of skill or bravery; so that he is to wait for justice from impartial posterity, not only in these qualities, but in one much more rare in this age, which he shewed in refusing to ask a privy seal for a sum of money remaining in his hands of what had been remitted to him; as he had not wasted it in monstrous bowls of punch, so he scorned to enrich himself by converting the public treasure to his own use, but justly accounted for it. These monuments, in spite of envy and detraction, will remain to his honour in the records of time, and his memory will live without the assistance or expence of a lumpish pile of stones, clamped up against the walls of Westminster-abbey, as was bestowed to commemorate the loss of some of her Majesty's ships, and the more valuable lives of many of her subjects, for want of common care and discretion."

serving Gibraltar, than Sir George Rooke had done courage and conduct in acquiring it.

The French and Spaniards, as their own writers confess, were obstinate in their resolution of retaking Gibraltar, cost what it would. The eagerness shewn by King Philip on this occasion, had like to have been fatal to him; and the method he took to regain Gibraltar, had well nigh lost him Spain, by disgusting most of the nobility. Hitherto, the Marquis Villadarias had commanded before the town, and had done all that a man could do, in a very bad season, with very indifferent troops. King Philip, however, removed him, and sent Marshal De Tesse, a Frenchman, with the title of captain-general, to command in his place; and, at the same time, Baron De Pointis was ordered to sail with his squadron from Cadiz to block up the place by sea. This being performed, the Spaniards made no doubt of their being quickly masters of the city; and indeed the prince of Hesse found the French general so much better acquainted with the art of war, and so much better supplied with all things necessary, than the Spaniard had been, that he thought it requisite to send an express directly to Lisbon, to desire Sir John Leake to come with all imaginable speed to his assistance. Sir Thomas Dilkes was in the mean time arrived from England, with five third rates, and a body of troops; and these being embarked, Sir John sailed from Lisbon on the sixth of March, to prevent the loss of this important fortress.

Upon the ninth of the same month, he had sight of Cape Spartel, but not having light enough to reach the Bay of Gibraltar, he thought proper to lie by, to prevent his being discovered from the Spanish shore, intending to surprise the enemy early in the morning; but, by bad weather, was prevented from making sail so soon as he intended. About half an hour past five, he was within two miles of Cape Cabretta, when he discovered only five sail making out of the bay, and a gun fired at them from Europa point; whereupon, concluding the garrison was safe, he gave chace to the ships, which proved to be the Magnanimous of 74 guns, the Lilly of 86, the Ardent of 66, the Arrogant of 60, and the Marquis of 56.

At first, they made for the Barbary shore; but seeing our fleet gained upon them, they stood for the Spanish coast: at nine o'clock Sir Thomas Dilkes, on board her Majesty's ship Revenge, together with the Newcastle, Antelope, Expedition, and a Dutch man of war, got within half gunshot of the Arrogant, and after a very little resistance she struck, the Newcastle's boat getting first on board her. Before one o'clock, the Ardent and the Marquis, with two Dutch men of war, and the Magnanimous, with the Lilly, ran a-shore a little to the westward of Marbella. The former, on board which was the Baron De Pointis, ran a-shore with so much force, that all her masts came by the board as soon as she struck upon the ground, and only her hull, from the traffril to the midships, remained above water, which the enemy set fire to in the night, as they did to the Lily next morning. After the engagement was over, our squadron got farther from the shore, and on the twelfth looked into Malaga road, where her Majesty's ships, the Swallow and Leopard, chaced a French merchant-man a-shore, of the burden of about three hundred tons, which the enemy burnt. The rest of the enemy's ships, having been blown from their anchors some days before Sir John's arrival, took shelter in Malaga bay; and soon after hearing the report of our guns, cut their cables and made the best of their way to Toulon.

Upon this, Marshal De Tesse, finding it now absolutely in vain to continue the siege, formed a blockade, and withdrew the rest of his troops. M. Pointis was well received at the court of France, notwithstanding his misfortune, neither did the Marshal De Tesse meet with any check on account of his behaviour; and indeed it would have been hard if he had, since he had done all that man could do, there having been thrown into Gibraltar, by the fifteenth of March, new style, more than eight thousand bombs, and upwards of seventy thousand cannon-shot fired, though to very little purpose.

While these great things were doing in the Mediterranean, Sir George Byng was sent with a small squadron of cruisers into the Soundings. He sailed in the latter end of January, with a large and rich fleet of outward-bound merchant-ships. As soon as he had seen these safe into the sea, he disposed of his squadron in such a manner, as he thought most proper for securing our own trade, and for meeting with the French privateers. Among other new regulations which had been the consequence of their merchants' complaint, one was the sending a flag-officer to have the constant direction of the cruisers; which in this case appeared a very wise provision, since Sir George Byng, by this disposition of his ships, was so fortunate as to take from the enemy a man of war of forty-four guns, twelve privateers, and seven merchant-ships, most of which were richly laden from the West Indies. The number of men taken on board all these prizes was upwards of two thousand, and of guns three-hundred thirty-four. This remarkable success made a great noise at that time; it was published by particular directions from the court, and has been since thought worthy of being inserted in a general history; and yet there is not a word said of the whole affair by Mr. Secretary Burchet, who must have known all the particulars of it as well or better than any man, which renders his omission the more extraordinary. This gave such a blow to the French privateers, that they scarcely ventured into the channel all the year after, but chose rather to sail northward, in hopes of meeting with some of our ships homeward-bound from the Baltic.*

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* See the Gazette, N°. 4107, Sir George took at this time the following prizes:

We are now to give an account of the exploits that were performed by the grand fleet, which was commanded by the famous earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, as joint admirals; and the first orders they received, were, to proceed to the Mediterranean, with the force then ready, which amounted to twenty-nine sail of line-of-battle ships, besides frigates, fire-ships, bombs, and other small craft. On the 11th of June they arrived in the river of Lisbon, where they found Sir John Leake, with his squadron, in great want of provisions; upon which the admiral ordered them to be supplied out of the stores brought from England, and that for four months whole allowance. On the 15th of June a council of war was held, at which were present the joint admirals, Sir Stafford Fairborne, Sir John Leake, Sir Thomas Dilkes, and John Norris, Esq. then captain to Sir Cloudesley Shovel; of the Dutch, Admiral Allemond, Vice-admiral Wassenaer, Rear-admiral Vanderdussen, and Rear-admiral De Jonge; in which it was determined to put to sea with forty-eight ships of the line, English and Dutch, and dispose them in such a station between Cape Spartel and the Bay of Cadiz, as might best prevent the junction of the French squadron from Toulon and Brest.

On the 22d of June, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the fleet sailed for Lisbon; from thence he sailed to Altea-bay, and there took in his Catholic Majesty, who pressed the earl of Peterborough to make an immediate attempt on the city of Barcelona, and the province of Catalonia; where he was assured the

Privateers.	Guns.	Men.	Privateers.	Guns.	Men.
Thetis, a man of war of	44	250	Sanspareil,	20	135
Desmaria,	36	240	Minerve,	16	92
Philippo,	22	220	Marveilleux,	14	85
Constable,	30	210	Postboy,	10	70
Voler,	28	210	Bonaventure,	10	70
Royal,	26	200	Admirable,	12	75
Beringhen,	24	160			

As also seven French merchant ships most of them richly laden, from the West Indies.

people were well affected to him. This being agreed to, the fleet sailed accordingly to Barcelona, and arrived on the 12th of August. After the troops were debarked, there were many disputes, whether the siege should, or should not, be undertaken; but at last the affirmative carried it; and then a proposal was made, that the fleet should land two thousand five hundred men, exclusive of the marines, and that the Dutch should land six hundred of their men; which was agreed to; on condition, however, that on the first certain intelligence of the French fleet's being at sea, both seamen and marines should embark again immediately. It was next deliberated in a council of war, whether the admiral's instructions, in regard to the duke of Savoy, should be complied with or not; and it was resolved, that as the winter season was advancing, it was too late for the fleet to proceed to the coast of Italy: and, at the same council of war, it was determined to return to England the first fair wind after the 20th of September.*

On the third of September, the prince of Hesse having formed a scheme for attacking Fort Mountjuic, it was put in execution; and though it cost his highness his life, yet, through the extraordinary bravery of the earl of Peterborough, who renewed the attack, it was taken. This giving a happy prospect of the reduction of the place, the gunners and carpenters demanded by my Lord Peterborough, were ordered by Sir Cloudesley Shovel to be in constant readiness to land. After this success, the siege was pushed with great vigour; the trenches were opened on the ninth, and batteries raised for fifty guns and twenty mortars. His Catholic Majesty having at length consented to it, our bomb-vessels threw four hundred and twelve shells into the town; and eight English and Dutch ships, under the command of Sir Stafford Fairborne, being appointed to cannonade it from the sea, while the cannon from the batteries and fort continued to do the like on shore, the viceroy desired to capitulate the twenty-third, and the capitulation being signed the twenty-eighth, the gate and bastion of St. Angelo was delivered up the same day, and the whole city in a few days after. The surrender of this capital of Catalonia so strengthened King Charles's party, that almost the whole principality submitted soon after.

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* It is very clear from the original papers which have been printed in relation to this affair, that the admiral, from the time of his coming before Barcelona, to the reducing of that city, did all that was in his power for the service of King Charles; and it likewise appears from the letters of the prince of Hesse to him, that he was the person principally depended upon by his Catholic Majesty, and to whom he constantly applied when distressed by his wants, or vexed by the earl of Peterborough's humours. It is no less clear from the same letters, that the earl of Peterborough applied to him in like manner in all his difficulties, and was constantly assisted and relieved; so that one may safely assert, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel was the soul of this expedition, and that without him nothing was, nor indeed could be done.

All the world knows, that the reduction of Barcelona has been considered as one of the most extraordinary events that fell out in this, or perhaps in any modern war; and though we have already many accounts of it, which seem to attribute it, some to one thing, some to another; yet I will be bold to say, that nothing but the assistance given by our fleet could possibly have reduced it. When there wanted men to carry on the works, these were spared from the fleet; so were carpenters and engineers. While our army was before the place, Captain Loads was sent to reduce Denia, and Captain Cavendish to take Terragona, both which they effected. When artillery was wanted, it was landed from the fleet, and when ammunition was wanted for this artillery, all the twenty-four and eighteen pound shot were landed for the supply of the batteries, except as much as would supply thirty rounds; and when the city was taken, and a garrison established there by King Charles III. the fleet landed eighteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, eight brass cannon, and all the three-pound shot they had.

On the first of October it was resolved in a council of war, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel should proceed for England with the best part of the fleet; that Sir John Leake with a strong squadron, should be left in the Mediterranean; that six ships should be left to attend the earl of Peterborough, two more remain at Gibraltar, and a third and fourth rate be employed at the request of his Portuguese Majesty in cruising for the homeward-bound Brazil fleet.*

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* In order to convince the reader of the truth of what has been asserted, it may not be amiss to lay before him part of a letter written by Sir Cloudesley to his royal highness the lord high-admiral, dated October 12, 1705, containing an account of what passed in the last days of this siege.

" The 17th, our battery of thirty guns was opened, and fourteen of them began to play, with very great execution, upon that part of the wall where the breach was designed; the earl of Peterborough came aboard, and represented to us the great necessity he laboured under for want of money for subsisting the army, and carrying on the siege of Barcelona, and the services in Catalonia, and, in very pressing circumstances, desired the assistance of the fleet; upon which our flag-officers came to the inclosed resolution: To lend the earl of Peterborough forty thousand dollars, out of the contingent and short allowance-money of the fleet. The 19th, we came to these resolutions; *viz.* To remain longer before Barcelona than was agreed on at first; to give all the assistance in our power, and to lay a fire-ship a-shore with two hundred barrels of powder; and a further demand being made for guns for the batteries, we landed fourteen more, which made up in all seventy-two guns, whereof thirty were twenty-four pounders that we landed here, with their utensils and ammunition. We continue to bombard the town from the sea, as our small store of shells and the weather will permit. The 20th, a demand was made for more shot, and we called together the English flag-officers, and came to a resolution to supply all the batteries with all the twenty-four and twenty-eight pound shot, except a very small quantity, which was accordingly done.

" The 22d, the prince of Lichenstein and the earl of Peterborough having desired, at the request of his Catholic Majesty, that the town of Lerida might, for its security, be furnished with about fifty barrels of powder, and a further supply of shot being demanded for the batteries a-shore; it was considered at a council

In pursuance of these resolutions, Sir Cloudesley, with nineteen ships of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, passed the Straits on the sixteenth of October, and arrived happily at Spithead on the twenty-sixth of November following, after as glorious a sea-campaign, as either ourselves or our allies could expect.

It is but just, in such a history as this, to mention our losses as well as our successes: among these I was in some doubt, whether I ought to reckon the taking a great part of our homeward-bound Baltic fleet, with their convoy, consisting of three men of war, by the Dunkirk squadron, of which we have a large account in the French historians; I say, I was in some doubt about this, as finding no notice taken of it, either by Mr. Burchet or our gazettes; but as I am satisfied that the Dutch writers would not be partial to our enemies in such a case, I find myself obliged to relate the fact as it is stated by them.

The Count De St. Paul, after the death of the famous John Du Bart, was looked upon as the best seaman in France, and therefore was promoted to the command of the Dunkirk squadron, in the room of Monsieur De Pointis. We had a squadron under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes, to watch that port, and another in the Soundings; yet M. De St. Paul found means to get out with his squadron, consisting of five men of war and five privateers, and were joined at sea by several other privateers; on the 20th of October, O. S. they fell in with our Baltic

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of war, and we came to the enclosed resolutions; *viz.* to furnish fifty barrels of powder for Lerida, and to send so many more twenty-four and eighteen pound shot a-shore, as would reduce the English to thirty rounds, as likewise to be farther assistant upon timely notice.

"The 23d, at night, our breach being made, and all things prepared for an attack, the town was again summoned, and they desired to capitulate, and hostages were exchanged; on our side, Brigadier Stanhope, and on the enemy's, the Marquis De Rivera; and all hostilities ceased."

fleet, and having directed M. Du Bart, with one of the men of war and the privateers, to secure as many of the English ships as possible, M. De St. Paul, with the other three men of war, attacked the convoy, which made a very gallant defence, but was at last forced to yield, and the Count D'Illiers, who commanded after the death of M. De St. Paul, (who was shot in the midst of the action with a musket-ball), carried our three men of war, and twelve merchant ships, into Dunkirk. I am extremely surprised not to find the least notice of this in any of the memoir-writers; but before I part with the fact, I must remark a very extraordinary saying of Louis XIV. when the news was brought him at Versailles.

The person who told it, thought the king received him very coldly, and repeated it therefore pretty loud, that there were three English men of war, and twelve merchantmen, carried into Dunkirk. "Very well,' returned the king, with a sigh; "I wish they were all safe in any English port, if that would restore me M. De St. Paul." This was certainly a very noble and generous speech, and it was by such testimonies of respect as these, that, in the midst of his misfortunes, the French king always maintained a succession of brave officers, ever ready to expose their lives in his service.

At home we had this year a signal instance of naval discipline, which therefore deserves a place in this work. One Captain Cross, who commanded the Elizabeth, gave her up to the French in the Channel, after a very slight defence. He was tried by a court-martial on board the Triumph, on the twenty-fifth of August, Sir George Byng being president, and having twelve captains to assist him. It appeared there, that he shewed the utmost signs of fear, which intimidated the men; and that if he had behaved as he ought to have done, the enemy might have been repulsed, and the ship saved. He offered several things in his defence, such as that his surgeon was sick, and many of the men were drunk, and would not do their duty; but, upon a full hearing, he was declared guilty of neglect of duty, and the sentence pronounced upon him was, that he should be cashiered, rendered incapable to serve her Majesty in any capacity, forfeit all the arrears due to him, and remain a prisoner for life.

Our trade escaped, generally speaking, better this year, than it had done formerly; for in the month of November there arrived ten East India ships, that had for some time put into Ireland: a few days after, there came thirty West Indiamen into the Downs, and the very same day nineteen vessels from Barbadoes, which were given over for lost. Yet all this could not quiet the merchants; they still exclaimed grievously against the lord high-admiral's council, and things rose to such a height, that I find in some of the Dutch papers of that time, it was expected the queen would have restored the earl of Pembroke, and that his royal highness should have been created lord high constable of England; but by degrees this affair blew over, for the prince's council were extremely wise in one particular; they constantly printed large vindications of their conduct, and accounted so plausibly for every thing that was charged upon them, that it was a very few only, and those too well versed in maritime affairs, who were able to distinguish where they were right, or where they were wrong; so that they never wanted a strong party for them amongst the people; and even at this day it is very difficult, if not altogether impracticable, to distinguish between the complaints that were excited by a spirit of party, and those that were really grounded on their miscarriages or neglects.

In this year our successes had been so great both by sea and land, and there appeared so fair a prospect of humbling the house of Bourbon in Flanders, and of driving them out of Spain, that when her Majesty thought fit to recommend the Spanish war in a particular manner to parliament, the House of Commons immediately voted two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for the prosecution of those successes; and for the whole service of Spain, during the succeeding year, they gave no less than seven hundred twenty-six thousand seven hundred and forty pounds; afterwards they voted for the supply of the sea-service, for the year 1706, forty thousand men, including the marines; they then voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, for the ordinary of the navy; ten thousand pounds to the office of ordnance, for the works at Portsmouth, and eighteen thousand two hundred and ninety-eight pounds seventeen shillings one farthing, for ordnance stores and carriages, for the eight new ships built to supply the loss of such as had perished in the great storm.

After so generous a supply, the ministry had nothing to consider, but how to employ it in such a manner, as that those, upon whom it was raised, might be satisfied that it was laid out for their service; and this produced a resolution of equipping a numerous fleet, as early as it was possible: but it being found by experience, that it was simply impracticable to man the navy, as the laws then stood, both houses, to shew their earnest desire to put maritime affairs into the best condition possible, came to certain resolutions, upon which a bill was brought in, that perfectly answered its purpose for that time, and enabled Sir Cloudesley Shovel to man very fully, and in good time, the large fleet that was intended for the Mediterranean service.*

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* The house came to those resolutions on Thursday the 14th of March, 1705-6, and it is necessary that the reader should be made acquainted with them. In few words, then, they were, 1. That in order to man the navy for this year, the justices of peace, and other civil magistrates, be impowered and directed to make search

This, with the settling the terms of the Union, were the matters which principally took up the attention of this session of parliament. While the house was still sitting, Sir Edward Whitaker had orders to assemble a squadron to convoy the duke of Marlborough to Holland, which he did in the beginning of the month of April, and having seen the yachts safe into the Maese, returned by the middle of the month.

Before we mention the proceedings of the grand fleet, it will be necessary to give an account of the exploits performed by Sir John Leake whom we lately left steering his course for the river of Lisbon. In that passage he had the misfortune to meet with worse weather, and more contrary winds, than was usual in those seas, or in that season. This unforeseen accident reduced the English squadron to some straits for provisions; and the Dutch, who are much heavier sailers, to far greater. However, when they

after seamen that lay concealed. 2. That the said justices and civil magistrates, cause such seamen, when found, to be delivered to such persons as should be appointed to receive them. 3. That a penalty should be laid upon such persons as should presume to conceal seamen. 4. That a reward be given to such persons as should discover, and take up such hidden seamen. 5. That conduct-money be allowed. 6. That seamen being turned over from one ship to another, should receive the wages due on the former ships. 7. That able-bodied land-men be raised for the sea-service. To bring these resolutions to effect, they ordered, that the committee to whom the bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen, &c. was committed, should have power to receive a clause or clauses pursuant thereunto, and to receive a clause for discharging such seamen, and other insolvent prisoners, as were in prison for debt, and delivering them into her Majesty's service on board the fleet. Which being passed into an act, received the royal assent on the nineteenth. The same day the lords addressed her Majesty on the same subject, praying her to take it into her royal care, and employ proper persons to consider of effectual means, to restore the discipline of the navy, in order to be laid before the parliament the beginning of the next session. Pursuant to which her Majesty, a few days after, caused a long proclamation to be published, for the better putting in execution the act of parliament above mentioned.

were off Cape St. Vincent, they met the Pembroke, Roebuck, and Falcon, which escorted a small fleet of victuallers, that could not have arrived more opportunely, or have been consequently more welcome.

On his coming to Lisbon, Sir John Leake had some proposals made him by the Portuguese ministry, which were thought altogether impracticable in the then situation of things, and therefore Sir John waved complying with them. In the beginning of the month of February, came letters from the Admiralty, with advice of the mighty preparations that were making in the French ports, and the resolution that had been taken by the Spaniards to send away their galleons directly from Cadiz, under a French convoy, for the West Indies; which Sir John was directed to consider, and, if possible, to prevent; of which mighty hopes were conceived in England, when the news was made public; Sir John being held as able, and reputed withal as fortunate an admiral as any in the service, and indeed deserved to be so reputed.*

Upon this intelligence, he called a council of war on the sixteenth of February, in which it was resolved, to proceed directly with the ships then ready, which were nine third rates, one fourth, two frigates, two fire-ships, and one bomb-vessel, English; six ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and a bomb-vessel, Dutch; and with these, in case the galleons were in the harbour of Cadiz, to enter it directly, if wind and weather would permit, and either take or destroy them. On the nineteenth another council of war was held, before which was laid a memorial of the Portuguese ministry, directed to Mr. Methuen, in relation to the homeward-bound Brazil fleet; and strict instructions from the lord high-admiral for succouring his Catholic Majesty without delay. Upon mature deliberation, they remained fixed to their former resolves, with these additions only, that as soon as they had executed their intended design on the galleons, they would make such a detachment as the Portuguese desired; and that whenever they should be joined with the ships and transports from England at Gibraltar, whither they intended to repair, they would instantly steer their course for the coast of Catalonia.

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* This scheme of sending so great a fleet into the West Indies, was of the last importance to the house of Bourbon; since, without a supply of money, the war could not be carried on in Europe; as, on the other hand, there were little hopes of preserving the West Indies in a due dependence upon Spain, without furnishing them from time to time with proper supplies. If, therefore, we could have taken the galleons at this time, it is most evident, that we must have disappointed both their designs, which, as affairs then stood, would, in all probability, have obliged king Philip to retire into France, at least for the present, and perhaps have put it for ever out of his power to return to Spain.

When these resolutions were formed, and the day fixed for the departure of our fleet, Sir John Leake acquainted Mr. Methuen, then our ambassador at the court of Portugal, that it would be necessary to lay an embargo on all ships and vessels, that the enemy might have no intelligence of our design; and, upon Mr. Methuen's application, such an order was granted. But as there is nothing weaker, or at least nothing more subject to disappointment than human policy, so this point that was thought so necessary to our security, proved, by an accident, if indeed it ought to be so called, altogether unaccountable, the ruin of our design. Sir John Leake sailed with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-fourth of February; but, when he arrived before fort St. Julian, the Duke De Cadaval, who commanded there, discharged first several single guns, and then fired the cannon of a whole bastion upon him. This surprised the admiral very much, who sending to know the reason of it, the duke pretended that it was done in pursuance of the order of embargo, as if the court of Portugal could possibly intend to detain the fleet of the allies in their harbour. This dispute hindered Sir John's sailing somewhat more than twenty-four hours, and in the mean time the Portuguese, who doubted whether the embargo did not extend to the fleet of the allies, suffered five merchant ships, two of which were Danes, and were supposed to have given notice of the design, to go out of the port the next day after the embargo was laid.

On the 27th, Sir John Leake reached Cape St. Vincent, where he met with an easterly wind, which decayed about noon, and it became perfectly calm. Next morning, however, he lay fair for the galleons, if they had come out before the wind would suffer him to reach Cadiz. But that night he received advice, that the galleons had sailed with a very hard gale at east, on the 10th of March, N. S. the 27th of February according to our reckoning at that time; so that it is plain that if he had sailed on the 24th, he must have met them. He was likewise informed that they consisted of thirty-six sail, that is to say, twenty-four galleons, and ten or twelve French privateers, from forty to fifty-six guns, which were ordered to see them safe into the sea. Sir John steered after them, though with little hopes of coming up, unless the east wind had left them when they were at the height of Cape St. Vincent. Next morning he saw two sail a-head, to which the fleet gave chace. About six, the Dutch Vice-admiral Wassenaer took one of them, and, soon after, the other was taken by the Northumberland; they proved to be Spanish ships bound for the Canaries; and, as they sailed from Cadiz the day after the galleons, it was thought needless to continue the chace any longer.

We are now to turn our eyes towards the conduct of King Charles III. He had been left in the city of Barcelona with a very small garrison, while the earl of Peterborough went to conquer the kingdom of Valentia, which he very happily accomplished, though with an inconsiderable force. The French and Spaniards in the mean time were projecting the destruction of King Charles's affairs at a single blow; and it must be acknowledged, that their scheme was so well laid, that nothing but a few untoward accidents could possibly have disappointed it. This design of theirs was to shut him up in Barcelona, which city they intended to attack both by land and sea, in the beginning of the month of March, when they looked upon it as a thing impossible for our fleet to have succoured him, as indeed it would have proved. The command of the land army was committed to Marshal Tesse, but whether he really wanted activity in his own nature, or was so crossed in all his undertakings by the grandees of Spain, that he could do nothing; I say, which ever was the case, so it was, that when the Count De Thoulouse was ready to sail with the French fleet from Toulon, the Spanish army was in no condition to form the siege; so that the whole month of March was spun out in preparations, and the place was not invested till the beginning of April.

This design was very early discovered here at home, and advice was sent of it to Sir John Leake before he sailed from Lisbon; but it does not appear, that either the earl of Peterborough or King Charles apprehended this mischief, at least in due time, otherwise the king would have been provided with a better garrison, and the place have been certainly put into a condition of making a greater resistance. After missing his design on the galleons, the fleet under the command of Sir John Leake, repaired to Gibraltar, where he received a letter from his Catholic Majesty, entreating his immediate assistance, in terms which sufficiently discovered the deep distress he was in, and the concern and terror he was under.*

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* The style and contents of King Charles's letter to Sir John Leake, are so singular, that they certainly deserve the reader's notice:

The king's fears were far from being ill-founded. M. Tesse came before the place with a numerous army, and the Count De Thoulouse landed ammunition and provision sufficient for the service of an army of thirty thousand men for two months; so that it is very evident the French did all that could be expected from them by sea; and if their endeavours had been as well seconded on shore, the place had undoubtedly been lost. But it so fell out, that the Sieur De Lepara, their principal engineer, was far enough from being a perfect master of his trade. He made a mistake at the beginning, which lost him eight or ten days time, and before he could correct this, they lost him by a shot from the place. This proved an irreparable misfortune; for though he was but an indifferent engineer, yet, after his death, it

"I THE KING.

"Admiral Leake,

"I am disposed to take upon me this occasion to advise you of the high risk this principality and my royal person is found in; for I make no doubt, before to-morrow, the enemy will molest us. They have already blockaded me with a squadron, and their army is now almost in sight of this city, and by their quick marches, have obtained some posts, which, if they might have been prevented, would very much have hindered their designs.

"I am resolved, although I find myself with such a small garrison, (as a thousand men of regular troops, and four hundred horse, not to leave this place; for, in the present conjuncture, I have considered, that my going hence will be the loss of the city, and, consequently, of all the other places which the happy success of the last campaign hath reduced to my obedience; for which reason, it is my opinion to risk all, and venture the casualties that a siege is incident to, putting just trust and confidence in your known zeal towards the great forwarding the common cause, making no doubt how much you have contributed towards the succours forwardness. I hope in a few days you will appear before this place, where your known valour and activity may meet with a glorious success, for which I shall again constitute you the credit of my royal gratitude.

"Given at Barcelona, the 31st of March, 1706.

"I the KING.

"By command of the king my master,

"HENRY DE GUNTER."

appeared they had not his equal, so that when they came to make an assault on the place, they were repulsed with considerable loss. These circumstances I thought it necessary to relate, previously to our account of Sir John Leake's proceedings; and having now shewn the errors, mistakes, and misfortunes, of the French and Spaniards before Barcelona, we will return to our fleet, and the measures taken for relieving King Charles by raising the siege.

On the 3d of April, Commodore Price, with six English, and as many more Dutch men of war, joined Sir John Leake, who, in a council of war held on the 6th, resolved, in obedience to King Charles's letter, to sail immediately to Barcelona. In pursuance of this resolution, he arrived on the 18th in Altea Bay, and the next day had intelligence, that Sir George Byng, with a squadron from England, was coming up; three days after they were joined by Commodore Walker with his squadron, as they had been the day before by Sir George Byng; and then it was determined to sail north of Majorca, and that each ship should make the best of her way without staying for the rest. Opon the 26th, the earl of Peterborough came off from Terragona, with a squadron of barks, having fourteen hundred land-forces on board; and, when he came to the fleet, hoisted the union-flag on board the Prince George, as admiral and commander in chief. His excellency found that the council of war had rejected his proposals, and, indeed, their rejecting them saved the place; since, before his arrival, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, and Admiral Wassenaer, had anchored in the road of Barcelona, and by the contrivance of Sir George Byng, a considerable body of troops had been thrown into the town.

On the 27th, in the afternoon, the whole fleet arrived in the harbour of Barcelona, without meeting with the least opposition; for the Count De Thoulouse having received an exact account of the naval force of the allies, thought fit to sail away with the French fleet to Toulon; which obliged the land-army to raise the siege with great precipitation. This relief appeared the more surprising, and must have been consequently the more grateful to King Charles, and all his faithful subjects, since it prevented their destruction but by a few hours, the enemy having made all the necessary dispositions for storming the place that very night, when, considering the extreme weakness of the garrison, their success could scarcely have been doubted.

Two days after the arrival of the fleet, M. De Tesse thought fit to raise the siege in a very extraordinary manner, for which our own, and the French historians, profess themselves equally at a loss to account. His army consisted still of fourteen thousand men, the succours thrown into the place did not exceed six thousand; so that it was very strange he should leave behind him a train of one hundred and six pieces of brass cannon, forty seven mortars, two thousand bombs, ten thousand grenades, forty thousand cannon shot, two hundred barrels of musket-shot, five thousand barrels of powder, eight thousand swords, eighteen thousand sacks of corn, besides flour, rye, and oats, in proportion, not only undestroyed, but untouched, as if they intended it as a present to the besieged, by way of compensation for the trouble they had given them.

Yet to me the cause of this is pretty evident; the marshal saw himself under the necessity of regaining the kingdom of Castile, by a strange sort of a march, first into Rousillon, then round by the Pyrenees, and so through Navarre, which constrained him to leave his sick and wounded in his camp, with a letter recommending them to the earl of Peterborough's clemency: and, I make no manner of question, that he chose to let things remain as he did, that these helpless people might obtain the more favour; which, though needless, when he had to do with an English general, was nevertheless humane in him. The admiral took to himself and his officers the honour of this great exploit; which was one of the most important, and withal, one of the most honourable, that happened throughout the war. His Most Catholic Majesty, on the other hand, was no less ready in paying a just tribute of praise and respect to his merit; so that, if ever there was a fact so well established as to be out of all dispute it is this, that Barcelona was relieved by Sir John Leake.*

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* A more pregnant proof of this cannot be had, than from the following letter of his Catholic Majesty to Sir John Leake, before the relief of Barcelona, indeed, but which evidently shews that the king placed all his hopes in our naval force, and expected from Sir John Leake alone, that it should be exerted for his preservation. This letter, to say the truth, is so honourable to the British arms, as well as to the very worthy man to whom it is addressed, that I thought fit to transcribe the whole, otherwise the last paragraph might very well have served my purpose.

" SIR,

" It is with no small satisfaction that I have been informed, from the earl of Peterborough's letters, of your happy arrival upon the coast of Valentia. I doubt not, but you have heard of the loss of Montjuic, and of the condition my town of Barcelona is in, where I was willing to suffer myself to be besieged, and to endure all the hardships and accidents of war, to encourage both the garrison and my subjects, by my presence, to make a long and vigorous defence.

" It seems, by the enemy's motions, they have already received notice of your approach; but, instead of thinking to retreat, they have redoubled their efforts, and fire upon the breach, which will be in a condition to be stormed after to-morrow at farthest; and, in all appearance, they will make a desperate attempt to render themselves masters of this town, before the fleet can arrive with the succours.

" Hence you will judge of the indispensable necessity there is, that you should do your utmost endeavours to relieve us without loss of time, and bring the fleet directly hither, together with the troops, to my town of Barcelona, without stopping or disembarking the forces elsewhere (as some other persons may pretend to direct you), for they can be no where so necessary as in this town, which is at the very point of being lost for want of relief. Wherefore, I pray God to have you in his holy protection, and

The next great service that was attempted was, the reducing Alicant; and in sailing thither, putting into Altea Bay, the admiral received notice, that Carthagena was disposed to submit: upon which, Sir John Jennings was sent to that city, who returned on the 24th of June, after leaving a garrison in the place. But with respect to Alicant, the governor refused to surrender, and, therefore, it was resolved to besiege it by land, while it was attacked by the fleet at sea. To facilitate this, seamen were landed from the fleet, and Sir George Byng, with five ships, anchored in a line so near the town, that he quickly dismounted all the enemy's artillery, though the guns pointing towards the sea were no fewer than one hundred and sixty.

On the 28th, in the morning, it was resolved to attack the place on all sides; and with this view Sir John Jennings landed the marines he brought from Carthagena. About nine in the morning, the ships had made a breach in the round tower, at the west end of the town, and another in the middle of the curtain, between the mole and the easternmost bastion, when the land-forces marching up towards the walls of the city, fifteen grenadiers, with an officer and serjeant, advancing, without order so to do, to the breach of the round tower, all the boats under the command of Sir John Jennings, went directly to sustain them, but before the men landed, the grenadiers were beaten back. However, the boats proceeded, and all the men getting ashore, Captain Evans of the Royal Oak mounted the breach first, got into the town with two or three of the boats'

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expecting the pleasure of seeing you as soon as possible, I assure you of my perfect esteem and acknowledgment.

"Barcelona, May 4, N. S. 1706. "CHARLES.

"*P. S.* Sir, you will discern the condition we are in by our letters, and I hope you will come as soon as possible to save us, of which you alone shall have the glory. For the rest, I refer you to Mr. Stanhope's letter."

crew; Captain Passenger of the Royal Anne followed, and next to him Captain Watkins of the St. George, with some seamen. Sir John Jennings, with the rest of the seamen and forces, who were in possession of the suburbs, moved on to support them; who, coming into the town, secured the posts, and made proper dispositions until the rest got in, when Mahoni, retiring into the castle, left them in possession, with the loss of but very few men; Colonel Petit, however, was killed in the suburbs, standing arm and arm with Sir John Jennings, by a small shot out of a window, as they were viewing the ground for raising the battery against the wall of the town; besides whom there were not above thirty killed either of the sea or land-forces; and not more than eighty wounded, notwithstanding the Spaniards had a continued communication from one house to another, and fired on our men from the windows and holes made for that purpose.*

Next day, Brigadier Gorge, who commanded the troops before the place, summoned Count Mahoni to surrender, which he absolutely refused to do; but the ships continuing to cannonade very briskly, and a great number of bombs being thrown into their works, the garrison, which consisted mostly of Neapolitans, compelled the governor to give up the place, notwithstanding all his declarations to the contrary. Brigadier Gorge took possession of it, and was appointed governor.

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* All that I have said with respect to the service performed by the fleet, is fully confirmed by the author of the inquiry into the management of the war in Spain, who gives us the following account of this transaction, p. 135. "Brigadier Gorge's troops, which were so much wanted in Castile, really contributed very little towards the reduction of Alicant; for as the fleet, without any assistance from the army, had made themselves masters of Carthagena not long before, by the exemplary courage and conduct of Sir George Byng, and Sir John Jennings; so now the squadron, which Sir John Leake had ordered Sir George Byng to command for that purpose, bombarded and cannonaded the town of Alicant with so much success, that in a few days they made two practicable breaches in the wall, between the east and west gates, which the sailors bravely stormed; and Sir George Byng being in possession of the place, forced open the gates to let the land-forces in, who, having lost their engineer Petit, were not yet even masters of the suburbs."

It was even then much disputed, whether this place was of any use, and whether the time and men lost before it were not absolutely thrown away. But, be that as it will, the conduct of Sir John Leake, and the courage of his officers and seamen are no way impeached thereby; nor does it at all lessen the glory of this action, which was one of the boldest that ever was performed by men, that it was undertaken to little or no purpose.* Thus much is certain, that soon after the taking of Alicant, King Philip's forces were entirely driven out of Arragon, and that whole kingdom reduced to the obedience of his competitor.

After the reduction of Alicant, Sir John Leake, in the beginning of the month of September, sailed to Altea Bay, from whence he sent Sir John Jennings with his squadron, intended for the West India service, to refit at Lisbon. He next made the necessary disposition for a winter squadron, which was to be commanded by Sir George Byng, and then proceeded to put in execution his last orders, which were, to reduce the islands of Ivica and Majorca. These islands not only belong to the crown of Spain, but their situation rendered them very necessary, at this time, to the allies, as affording them an opportunity of supplying the places, they had lately reduced, with provisions, and securing a proper retreat for their smaller vessels, whenever it should be found necessary to keep a squadron in those seas during the winter. It does not appear, that the Spanish court had taken any precautions for their defence, as being entirely occupied with the thoughts of preserving Minorca, which was looked upon as the island of greatest importance, and, therefore, most of their regular troops were there.

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* The truth of this fully appears in a letter from Brigadier Gorge to Sir John Leake, in which he complains of being left in the midst of enemies, in so distressed a condition, that unless Sir John was able to relieve him, he should find himself obliged to abandon it.

On the sixth of September, Sir John sailed from Altea Bay, and, on the ninth, anchored before Ivica. This island, which is about fourscore miles in circuit, abounds with corn, wine, fruit, salt, &c. and the inhabitants, being a trading people, were rather inclined to submit to the allies, than to remain under their old government; and, therefore, on the first summons, they sent deputies to make their submission, which was readily accepted, and King Charles III. immediately proclaimed. On the thirteenth, the fleet sailed for Majorca, and arrived, on the fourteenth, before Palma. This island, which is one of the finest in the world, abounding with all the necessaries of life, well planted and well peopled, and so large as to be once accounted a kingdom, was at this time governed by the Conde De Alcudia, who was a native of the place. He was warmly in the interest of King Philip, and when the admiral summoned him, sent him a Spanish answer, "That he would defend the island as long as there was a man in it." But upon throwing three or four bombs into the place, which did no great mischief, the inhabitants rose and forced the viceroy to surrender. He shewed his wisdom, however, where he could not shew his courage, by making a very prudent capitulation.

Sir John Leake left a garrison in Porto-Pin, and two men of war to carry off the Conde, and such other of the inhabitants as were disaffected to King Charles III. and on the twenty-third of the same month he prosecuted his voyage for England. Before his departure he received a letter from his Catholic Majesty, who very gratefully acknowledged the services that he had done him, and expressed the highest satisfaction as to his conduct on all occasions.

On the second of October Sir John passed the Straits, and on the fourth, when he was off the south cape, detached Sir George Byng, with the winter squadron, for Lisbon. On the seventeenth he arrived safe at St. Helen's, having been separated in a storm from the rest of the fleet, which came soon after into Portsmouth. And thus ended as successful a sea-campaign as is recorded in our own, or perhaps in any other history.*

Sir Stafford Fairborne, then vice-admiral of the red, was appointed, with a small squadron, to look into the mouth of the river Charent, with orders also to destroy such ships as the enemy might have at Rochfort. He sailed for this purpose in the latter end of the month of April, and after continuing at sea about three weeks, he returned to Plymouth with a few prizes. Soon after he received orders to sail for the Downs, from whence he was quickly ordered over to Flanders, to assist in taking Ostend. Arriving before that place, he stood in so near the town, that they fired upon him, which he returned; but was soon after ordered to Newport, from whence, after the blockade of that place was formed, he came back to Ostend. A scheme had been contrived by some of the land officers for destroying the little vessels belonging to that port; but when it came to be executed, it was found wholly impracticable. The entrance of the harbour being long, narrow, and crooked, whatever vessel or ship attempted to go in, must inevitably be much exposed to the platform of guns; so that there seemed but little hopes of attempting any thing against the ships by sea, which lay all in a cluster close to the quay, on the backside of the town; but there were letters in the camp which insinuated, that as soon as the trenches were opened, the batteries raised, and some bombs thrown into the place, the Spaniards in garrison, assisted by the seamen and burghers, would oblige the French garrison to yield.

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* See the London Gazette, No. 4272, in which there is a large account of the capitulation with the viceroy of Majorca, which shews that Sir John Leake was a very able man in the closet, as well as the field, and knew how to treat, as well as how to act in a rougher manner.

On the nineteenth of June, the trenches were opened before the place; Sir Stafford Fairborne, with his squadron, cannonaded it by sea, and at the same time two bomb vessels were sent as near as might be, and when they came to play did great execution. Sir Stafford, likewise, caused all the small frigates to run in as near the town as possible, and to discharge their broadsides; which they did with so little damage to themselves, and so great hurt to the place, that the people began to mutiny, and the governor found himself, as he pretended, under a necessity of capitulating, which he did on the twenty-fifth.

Thus the city of Ostend, which had formerly held out so many months, was taken in a week; though, besides the Spanish garrison, Count De la Mothe was there with a considerable body of French troops, which he undertook should not serve again in six months; and as one of their own writers pleasantly says, it had been very happy for France, if he had for himself undertaken never to serve again. After the surrender of Ostend, Sir Stafford Fairborne returned to Spithead, to assist in convoying a body of troops that were intended for a descent.*

Before we speak of the proceedings of the grand fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, it will be requisite to say something of the intended descent which we have just mentioned: this was a design framed upon the representation of some French Huguenots: particularly the famous Marquis Guiscard, who was afterwards engaged in a design to assassinate the queen. The land forces designed for this service consisted of nearly ten thousand men. They were to be commanded in chief by the Earl Rivers: under him by the Lieutenant-Generals Earle and De Guiscard: the earl of Essex, and Lord Mordaunt, eldest son to the earl of Peterborough, were to serve in this expedition as major-generals. On the 10th of August, the fleet under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, sailed from St. Helen's; but not being joined time enough by the Dutch, this project proved abortive; and it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed to Lisbon with these forces on board, and that they should be employed in the service of his Catholic Majesty.

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* In the siege of Ostend, the duke of Marlborough gave signal proofs of his personal courage; for coming to make a visit to M. D'Auverquerque, he went into the trenches, where he stayed a considerable time, and examined every thing very attentively, though the enemy, who had slackened their fire before, renewed it with excessive violence, as soon as they knew, by the salute of the fleet, that his grace was come to the camp. In doing this, contrary to his usual custom, he shewed, that when he was more careful of his person, it was out of respect to the service, and not for any want of that temper of mind, which commonly passes for heroism.

It does not appear, that after their disappointment in this scheme of making a descent on France, the ministry came to any resolution as to the employment of the grand fleet, or of the land forces on board it; it looks as if all things had been trusted to the wisdom of the admiral, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and of the general. The fleet was extremely late before it sailed for the Mediterranean; *viz.* the first of October, and being in the Soundings on the tenth of the same month, the Barfleur, a second rate, sprung a dangerous leak, which obliged the admiral to send her home, and to take the Earl Rivers, and his principal officers, into his own ship the Association. Proceeding in their voyage, they met with exceedingly bad weather; insomuch, that when the admiral arrived in the river of Lisbon, he had with him but four men of war, and fifty transports; but he had the good luck to find the rest of the fleet arrived before him, so that he began immediately to prepare for action, and sent two ships of Sir George Byng's squadron to Alicant, with money and necessaries for the army, then under the command of the earl of Galway, which was in very great want of them.

While he was thus employed, he heard, with great regret, of the disorders that had fallen out in the Spanish court and in our army. It is very hard to say, who was, or who was not, in the right: but this is certain, that in consequence of these disputes, King Charles III. lost his interest among the Spaniards; and though he was once master of Madrid, he was forced to quit it again, and his affairs began to fall into such confusion, that the admiral at Lisbon could scarce tell what he had to do, or how he was to act for his Catholic Majesty's service, and, therefore, thought it requisite to send Colonel Worsley to Valentia, in order to receive from the king himself, and the general, a certain account of their affairs, and a true state of the services they expected from him. While this gentleman was gone, and before the admiral had it in his power to take any settled resolution, the king of Portugal died, which threw the affairs of that kingdom into some confusion; and that could not happen without affecting us. We before observed, that the Portuguese ministry acted in a manner no way suitable to the strict alliance which then subsisted between our court and theirs. But now things grew worse and worse; and whatever sentiments the new king might be of, his ministers ventured to take some such steps, as were not to be borne with patience by an admiral of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's temper.

Upon the return of Colonel Worsley, the admiral was apprized, by letters from the king and the earl of Galway, that, unless he could bring Earl Rivers, and the forces under his command, and land them so as that they might come to their assistance, things were likely to fall into as great confusion as they were in the winter before, whereby all the advantages would be lost which had been afterwards procured at so vast an expence, both of blood and treasure, by the maritime powers. These advices gave the admiral the more concern, as he knew that the ships were so much damaged by the rough weather which they had met with in their passage, that it was impossible to fit them speedily for sea; and that, on the other hand, the land forces were so much reduced by sickness, death, and other accidents, that, instead of ten, there were scarcely six thousand effective men. He resolved, however, to do the best he could to comply with the king and the general's desire; the rather because he saw that nothing but spirit and diligence could possibly recover those advantages, which had been lost through divisions and neglect of duty. He gave orders, therefore, for repairing, with the utmost diligence, the mischief that had been done to his ships; directed the transports to be victualled, and made the other necessary dispositions for proceeding with both the fleet and army for the Spanish coast, and in the mean time dispatched five men of war with a considerable sum of money and clothes for the troops, and was on the very point of embarking the forces, when he was restrained by an order from England, of which we shall say more when we come to treat of the transactions of the ensuing year, to which it properly belongs.

In the mean time, Captain William Coney, who commanded the Romney, a ship of fifty guns, having been dispatched, as we before observed, by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to cruise in those seas, and being then with the Milford and Fowey, two fifth rates, they received intelligence on the twelfth of December, that a French ship of sixty guns, with thirty pieces of fine brass cannon on board, that had been taken out of the ship commanded by M. De Pointis, and which he had run ashore when he fled from Sir John Leake, lay at anchor under the cannon of Malaga, he resolved to go and attempt her; which design he put in execution, though one of the fifth rates was accidentally disabled, and the other separated from him;

and sailing directly under the cannon of the place, cut her from her anchors, notwithstanding all the fire they could make, and carried her safe into the harbour of Gibraltar.

On the twenty-sixth of the same month, he chaced, and came up with another French ship, called the Content, that carried sixty-four guns. The captain of her, instead of attempting to fight the English ships, got as soon as he could under the cannon of a little castle, about eight leagues west of Ameria, where he crept as close as it was possible to the shore. Captain Coney anchored before him, and ordered the Milford and Fowey to do the same, the one ahead the other astern. They plied their guns for about three hours very briskly, and then the French ship took fire, blew up, and was entirely destroyed, with most of her men. This ship had been detached by M. Villars, to bring the before-mentioned ship from Malaga. Some time after Captain Coney took another French ship, called the Mercury, of forty-two guns, which the French king had lent the merchants, and which, at their expence, was fitted out as a privateer.

I should now proceed to resume the history of affairs in the West Indies, but that there remains a remarkable action or two in Europe, which I think deserve notice, and, therefore, I have set them down here, in the close of the year, by themselves, not finding it so easy to reduce them to any particular service. On the nineteenth of April, the Resolution, a seventy gun ship, commanded by Captain Mordaunt, youngest son of the earl of Peterborough, having his father on board, and his Catholic Majesty's envoy to the duke of Savoy, fell in with six large ships of the enemy, in his passage to Genoa; the earl of Peterborough perceiving the danger, desired that himself, and the Spanish envoy, might be put on board a small frigate, called the Enterprise; for as he took his business then to be negociating, not fighting, he was willing to escape to Oneglia, if it was possible, which, according to his usual good fortune, he was lucky enough to effect.

The Milford, a fifth rate, which we have lately mentioned, was likewise with Captain Mordaunt, but seeing the danger, ran from it, and escaped. On the twentieth the weather proved very bad, so that the Resolution was in part disabled, which gave the enemy an opportunity of coming up with her; upon which Captain Mordaunt, by advice of his officers, resolved to run her ashore, having received a great deal of damage in the engagement. About three in the afternoon he effected this, and ran her a-ground in a sandy bay, within a third of a cable's length of the land, and directly under the cannon of the castle of Ventimiglia, belonging to the Genoese, who notwithstanding gave them not the least assistance. About half an hour after four, Captain Mordaunt, being disabled by a shot in his thigh, was carried on shore, but would not retire far from his ship; and about five the French commodore manned out all the boats of his squadron, in order to board the Resolution, under the fire of one of their seventy-gun ships, which plied ours warmly all the while; but the Resolution, even in the condition she was in, gave them such a reception, as obliged them to return to their respective ships. On the twenty-first, about half an hour past six in the morning, one of the enemy's ships of eighty guns weighing her anchor, brought to under the Resolution's stern, and about nine o'clock, a spring being put under the cable, she lay with her broadside towards her, while she at the same time looked with her head right into the shore, so that it was not possible to bring any more guns to bear upon the French ship, than those of her stern-chace; and the others being within less than gun-shot, and the water coming into the Resolution as high as her gun-deck, Captain Mordaunt sent to his officers for their opinion what was fitting to be done; and, pursuant to their advice, he gave them directions to set her immediately on fire, which they did about eleven o'clock, after the men were all put on shore; and by three in the afternoon she was burnt to the water's edge.

In the month of November, a singular adventure happened to the Lisbon packet-boat, which was taken by a Dunkirk privateer of considerable force. The mate, who had the care of the packet, hid it when the privateer appeared first in sight, and being soon after killed, the captain threw over a chest of papers, with a weight of lead, just as the enemy boarded him, which they took for the mail, and therefore did not make so strict a search as otherwise they would have done. At sea they were separated from the privateer, which gave eleven English sailors an opportunity of rising upon fifteen Frenchmen, making themselves masters of the vessel, and carrying her into the Texel, where the government letters were happily found, sewed up in an oil-skin case, and thrown into a water-cask. We ended our last account of affairs in the West Indies with the return of Admiral Graydon's squadron from thence: it is now requisite that we should enter into a detail of what passed in those parts, from that time to the close of the year 1706.

The complaints which had been made in almost every session of parliament, of miscarriages and misdemeanors in the West Indies, engaged the ministry to make choice of Sir William Whetstone to go thither with a squadron of seven men of war, in order to settle affairs after the ravages which they had an account had been committed in those parts. He sailed accordingly with the trade in the spring of the year 1705, and arrived, on the 17th of May, safely at Jamaica. There he soon received intelligence, that a stout squadron of the enemy's ships was on the coast of Hispaniola, and that several rich ships were speedily expected from the coast of New Spain. Upon this, he ordered the squadron to be put in a posture of sailing as soon as possible, and having left a sufficient convoy for the protection of the homeward-bound-fleet, he proceeded, on the 6th of June, for the Spanish coast.

On the 17th of the same month, being then within sight of Carthagena, he chaced a ship, which in the night ran in among the Sambay keys, where there are very uncertain soundings and shoal-water, insomuch, that the Bristol, a ship of fifty guns, came on ground, but was got off again with little or no damage; however, he came up with the French ship, and after two hours dispute with those that were nearest to her, she submitted. She had forty-six guns mounted, and carried out with her three hundred and seventy men; but buried all but one hundred and fifty, unless it were a few they had put into prizes. She had brought six hundred and forty negroes from Guinea, of which two hundred and forty died, and most of the rest were put on shore at Martinico, the island of St. Thomas, and Santa Martha, for they had heard that a squadron of English ships was in the West Indies. The rear-admiral plying then to the eastward, discovered off the river Grande two sail, close in with the land, one of which being forced on shore, was burnt by her own men, being a privateer fitted out at Martinico, to disturb our trade.

The coast being thus alarmed, and no prospect of any immediate service, he returned back to Jamaica; but appointed three of the best sailers to cruise twenty days off Anigada, in the windward passage, for the French in their return home, it being the usual season for them to go from Petit Guavas, Port de Paix, and other places; but those ships joined him again without meeting with any success.

On his return to Jamaica, he had intelligence of a rich ship bound from Carthagena to Port Lewis, and in order to take her, he detached the Montague and the Hector, who, though they missed their intended prize, brought in a French ship of twenty-four guns, laden with sugar, indigo, and hides. Towards the latter end of the same month, the rear-admiral put to sea, to cruise off Hispaniola, where he met with such a storm, as forced him back to Jamaica in a very distressed condition. While the ships, particularly his own, were refitting, the Montague, a sixty-gun ship, was sent to cruise on the coast of Hispaniola, where he met with two French ships, one of forty-eight, the other of thirty-six guns, and the captain bravely engaged them both till he lost them in the night. The next morning he had sight of them again, and would willingly have renewed the engagement, but his officers and seamen were not in the humour to fight, and so the Frenchmen escaped. The captain, whose name Mr. Burchet hath not thought fit to transmit to posterity, on his return to Jamaica complained to the admiral, and brought the whole affair under the examination of a court-martial, where it fully appeared, that he had done his duty to the utmost of his power, and he was thereupon honourably acquitted; but as for his officers they were broke, as they well deserved, and many of his seamen punished.

The admiral, in the mean time, to repair this mistake as far as he was able, sent two fourth rates, the Bristol and the Folkstone, in quest of those ships; falling in with them and the vessels under their convoy, they behaved very briskly in seizing the defenceless merchant-men; but though they had it absolutely in their power to have fought at least, if not to have taken the men of war, they let them slip through their hands, with half the fleet under their care; for which scandalous neglect, the senior officer, whose name is again missing in Mr. Burchet's history, but which I have reason to believe was Anderson, came to be tried, broke, and rendered incapable of serving at sea.*

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* Mr. Oldmixon, who was the author of the "British Empire in America," vol. ii. gives us the following account. The Bristol and Folkstone met with ten sail of merchant-men, bound from Petit

I am very sorry that a more particular detail of these affairs cannot be had, because the merit of history is the bestowing just praises on worthy men, and setting such a mark of disgrace on men of another character as they deserve. A little after these unlucky incidents, while the admiral was detained for want of stores at Jamaica, the Suffolk, where his flag was flying, by some unfortunate accident, which I think was never accounted for, blew up in the gun-room, where most of the men were killed, and seventy more in their hammocks were so burnt, that the greatest part of them died. When things were once more put in tolerable order, he sailed for the coast of Hispaniola, and had thoughts of stretching over again to the Main, with a view to have sent the orders of his Catholic Majesty, King Charles III. to the governor of Carthagena; but finding this impracticable, and himself much too weak to undertake any thing against the French in those seas, he returned back to Jamaica.

I do not find in any of the accounts that I have met with, that Sir William Whetstone was so much as suspected of being in any degree wanting in his duty; but so it was, that through neglect of our Admiralty, and a mercenary spirit in some of our governors of colonies, and captains of men of war, things were fallen into such distraction in the West Indies, that we were not either in a condition to hurt the enemy's settlements, or so much as able to defend our own. The truth seems to be, that the great fleets we fitted out every year for the Mediterranean, and the cruisers that were necessary upon our own coasts,

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Guavas to France, under convoy of two French men of war, one of four and twenty, and another of thirty guns, out of which Captain Anderson, commodore of the English, took six merchant men, laden with sugar, cocoa, cochineal, and indigo, and brought them to Jamaica. When he arrived, Admiral Whetstone held a court-martial, and Captain Anderson, with the other officers, were condemned to lose their commissions for not engaging the French men of war.

took up so many ships, that it was scarcely possible to supply even the reasonable demands of the West Indies.

The enemy, on the other hand, had some very signal advantages; for after Sir George Rooke had taught them, that sea-fights were not for their advantage, they had recourse to their old trade of carrying on a piratical war; and as they had little trade to protect, and many good ships, they were able to furnish out stout squadrons for this purpose. Add to all that has been said, the great concerns they had in the West Indies, where now not only the French, but the Spanish settlements were immediately under their care, and where, as France had the free use of the ports, so she had the direction also of the naval force of both nations, without which she could never have carried on the war.

The driving the English out of the Leeward-islands, was the point the French had most in view, and having a very exact account of our condition there, the governor of St. Domingo, M. Iberville, had orders to assist in an attempt that was to be made on St. Christopher's. It is in truth a very difficult thing to give a fair account of this matter, since the French magnify it, and such of our writers as have taken any notice of it, have done all they could to lessen and disparage it. The most probable relation that I have met with among many, sets the affair in this light. The Count De Chavagnac, with a small squadron of French men of war, attacked the island of St. Christopher's in the month of March, where they burnt and plundered several plantations; but when they came to attack the castle, they were repulsed with loss. They would, however, in all probability, have carried their point at last, if the governor of Barbadoes, on receiving information of what had happened, had not sent down thither a sloop, with intelligence to the governor, that a squadron from England was coming to his relief. This reaching the ears of the

French, as it was intended it should, they embarked in much haste, after having done a great deal of mischief; but, however, nothing comparable to what the French writers say.*

But, unluckily for us, before Count De Chavagnac sailed, Count Iberville joined him with his squadron; so that they had now five stout men of war, some frigates, and twenty sloops, with which they resolved to attack Nevis. They landed in Green-bay, in the evening of the 22d of the same month, which was Good-Friday; and they pushed their operations so briskly, that by the 24th, which was Easter-Sunday, the inhabitants made a capitulation, by which they promised to deliver up all their negroes, and to procure a number of prisoners equal to that of themselves, to be set at liberty in Europe, in consideration of their not being taken off the island. Our Gazette says, that the French broke these articles, by treating them barbarously, burning their houses and sugar-works, and other actions of the like nature. But other accounts say, that the inhabitants could not comply with their capitulation, because the negroes retiring into the mountains, stood on their defence, and when attacked, killed a great number of the French. Upon this the inhabitants came to a new agreement on the 6th of April, in which they undertook to deliver to the French, in less than six months, one thousand four hundred negroes, or one hundred and forty thousand pieces of eight; upon which the French retired, carrying off with them most of the effects, and a great number of negroes, but fewer certainly than seven thousand, as a French historian computes them. A little after this unfortunate accident, Commodore Ker arrived with a considerable force in the Leeward-islands, and having stationed several ships according to his instructions, he bore away with the rest for Jamaica, which was then thought to be in danger, from the junction of Iberville's squadron with that of Du Casse.

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* Father Daniel, in his Journal of the Reign of Louis XIV. p. 236. computes the plunder of St. Christopher's at three millions of French money, or 150,000 pounds of ours; which is, I think, incredible; especially, if the French retired in some kind of consternation; and that they did is pretty certain, since the Count De Chavagnac was questioned about it when he returned to France.

In the mean time Rear-admiral Whetstone sailed with a few ships from Jamaica, in hopes of attacking Du Casse, before he was joined by the succours he expected. But this design being defeated by bad weather, he returned to Jamaica about the middle of July, and towards the latter end of the same month was joined by Commodore Ker, with the squadron under his command. There being now so considerable a force, the admiral was very desirous that something should be attempted capable of effacing the memory of past mistakes, and worthy the naval force of the British nation. After mature deliberation, it was resolved to proceed to Carthagena, where they knew the galleons were, to try what effect King Charles's letters would produce, and whether the governor might not be wrought upon by our successes in Europe, to own him for his rightful sovereign in America. With this view, Sir William Whetstone and Captain Ker sailed from Jamaica on the 8th of August, and on the 18th arrived before Carthagena, and sent in a packet to the governor. At first he trifled a little, and gave evasive answers; but when more closely pressed, he declared roundly, that he knew no sovereign but Philip V. and that no other he would obey. There were at that time in the port fourteen large galleons, lying close in with the city, and unrigged. The admiral was for attempting to burn them, but the pilots unanimously declared, that any such design would be found impracticable, unless we were first in possession of Bocca Chica castle, and the other forts; and even in that case, it was very doubtful whether ships of so great a size as theirs could get in.

Then it was taken into consideration, what further service might be done, and the result of this was, a resolution to return to Jamaica: from whence, as soon as the trade was ready, the rear admiral was to convoy them home, and Commodore Ker to remain behind, in order to take upon him the command of the force left in the West Indies. This scheme was immediately put in execution, and, upon their return, Sir William made all possible dispatch, in order to get home in time; and accordingly, leaving the island the latter end of October, he arrived at Plymouth on the twenty-third of December, 1706, with the Suffolk, Bristol, Reserve, and Vulcan fire-ship, and a fleet of merchant-men under his convoy, having been landed abroad, and performed little, though no man in the service had shewn a greater spirit of activity, before his being sent on this West India expedition.

The squadron which Commodore Ker brought into the West Indies, consisted of six ships of the line, three frigates, and a fire ship. With this force he stretched over from Jamaica to the coast of Hispaniola, from thence to the Main, where he cruised till the fourth of September; and then the winds proving northerly, he returned to Hispaniola, on the coast of which island he held a council of war, in order to determine whether it might not be practicable to surprise Port Lewis. But the pilots not being well acquainted with the entrance into that port, it was resolved to proceed directly to Petit Guavas, and to go to the northward of the island of Guanaua, in order the better to prevent their design from being discovered. On the thirteenth of September he detached Captain Boyce, in the Dunkirk-prize, with all the boats in the squadron manned and armed, with orders to range along the bays of Leogane and Petit Guavas, in the night, with all imaginable care and caution, and so to dispose themselves as that they might destroy the enemy's ships in either of those roads, and be able to return to the squadron next morning on a signal given. But how well soever this scheme might be laid, it miscarried through the ill conduct of some of the officers, who running in too near the shore, alarmed the inhabitants to such a degree, that any farther attempt was rendered impracticable.

Upon this disappointment, Commodore Ker returned to Jamaica, in order to refit his vessels, and to repair the damage that he had sustained in this fruitless expedition. But while he was thus employed, he was attacked by a new and greater evil, occasioned by a mortality which prevailed among the seamen, and that to such a degree, as in a manner utterly disabled him from any further service. The merchants, however, who suffered for want of ships to protect them, losing abundance of sloops, laden with silver, upon the Spanish coasts, began to complain loudly of the commodore's conduct; and even went so far, as to send home an agent, who had instructions to lay the matter before the House of Commons, where, after a full and fair examination, this officer's behaviour received a censure, in consequence of which he was laid aside. In the mean time the command in the West Indies fell into the hands of Sir John Jennings, who had been, as we before observed, detached for that purpose, with a considerable squadron from the Straits. But, as his proceedings belong to the succeeding year, we must refer the reader to that part of our history, for an account of them.*

We must, before we leave America, take notice of a disappointment the enemy met with in attacking Carolina. The French had long had their eyes on our northern colonies, which were then in a very flourishing condition; among other projects that M. Iberville had been furnished with, one was the attacking, and, as far as it should be in his power, destroying the province of Carolina. When therefore he had finished his designs in the Leeward-islands, he sailed with a squadron of six men of war, and several transports for South Carolina. He made a descent in the neighbourhood of Charles-town, with about eight hundred and fifty soldiers and seamen, and sent an officer to summon the governor to surrender the city and colony to the French king, telling him at the same time, that he would allow him but an hour to consider of it. Sir Henry Johnson told him, that was much too long a space, for that he did not want half a minute to resolve on doing his duty; and that therefore he was at liberty to return, and tell those that sent him, that the English were not to be frightened with words, for they should soon find that they were able to return blows.

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* I thought it more expedient to take notice of this matter here, than postpone it absolutely, till we come to speak of the proceedings of parliament, in the year 1707; where we shall however be obliged to resume it, and where the reader will have a more particular account of what the offences were, with which this gentleman was charged.

Upon this spirited answer followed an attack, in which the French met with so vigorous a resistance, that they were glad to retreat with the loss of three hundred killed, drowned, or taken; and among the latter ten officers; *viz.* their chief commander at land, his lieutenant, three captains of ships, four lieutenants, and a master, who together offered ten thousand pieces of eight for their ransoms. One of the French ships having ventured to make a descent at the distance of six miles from Charles-town, the governor sent a detachment of militia to the assistance of the planters, who were so lucky as to make themselves masters of the ship, with all its crew, which consisted of about one hundred and forty men.

The French had also some designs upon New York, of which we had so early intelligence in England, that Lord Cornbury, eldest son to the earl of Clarendon, was sent over to take upon him the government; and he finding all things in great confusion, and the few fortresses in that country running to ruin, first obtained from the assembly a considerable supply for that service, and then ordered a general embargo to be laid, which enabled him to employ fifteen hundred men, in working on their fortifications; so that they were, in a very short time, put into a good posture of defence, and all the views of the enemy disappointed on that side. We had not, however, as great success in bringing home the Virginia fleet, part of which fell into the hands of the French privateers, and the rest were separated by a storm, which occasioned great apprehensions and uneasinesses about them, but most of them, notwithstanding, arrived, at last, safe in the western ports. The merchants, however, raised loud complaints against the Admiralty, who had now, in a great measure, lost their interest in the House of Commons; so that whatever charges were brought against them, had all the encouragement that could be expected, and the merchants were left at full liberty to produce their witnesses, and to make out all that they could; which, though it afforded no remedy to these mischiefs, yet it took the weight off the ministry, and gave the nation general satisfaction, as all inquiries, strictly and impartially prosecuted, ever must.

We are now, according to the method hitherto pursued in this work, to give the reader an account of the measures taken for the supplying the service of the succeeding year; and this the success attending the war, both by sea and land, enables us to do in a very short space. The queen opened the sessions on the third of December, 1706, with a most gracious speech, wherein she took notice of what had been already done, and of the reasons which obliged her to desire, that as great dispatch as possible might be given to the supplies; and how much weight her Majesty's recommendation had, will appear from hence, that though they amounted to no less than five millions eight hundred ninety-three thousand three hundred eighty-one pounds fifteen shillings and three-pence three farthings, yet they were voted in less than a week; so that the queen came on the twenty-first to the House of Peers, and having sent for the commons, the Speaker presented the bills, and in his speech on that occasion, took notice, "That as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough, at Ramillies, was so surprising, that the battle was fought, before it could be thought the armies were in the field, so it was no less surprising, that the commons had granted supplies to her Majesty before the enemy could well know that her parliament was sitting."

The care of the public thus shewn, the House went into the consideration of the several expeditions executed within the compass of the preceding year; and after a long debate, on the twenty-seventh of January, in relation to the method of carrying on the war in Spain, it was carried on the question, by a majority of two hundred and fifty, against one hundred and fifty, that the several sums of money for the extraordinary services for the year 1706, which had been agreed to by the house, had been advanced and expended for the preservation of our firm ally the duke of Savoy, for promoting the interest of King Charles III. in Spain, against the common enemy, and for the safety and honour of the nation. Not long after, the house proceeded to take into consideration the report from the committee, to whom the petition of several proprietors of plantations in the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher's in America, and other merchants trading to the same, on behalf of themselves and the other inhabitants and traders to the said islands, was referred, and the same being read, it was resolved, "That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, that she will be pleased to appoint such persons, as her Majesty shall think fit, to inquire into the true state of the losses of the people of the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher's, in order to lay the same before this house the next session of parliament, to apply what may be convenient for the better securing those islands, and supplying them with necessaries in order to a re-settlement." The said address being presented accordingly, her Majesty was pleased to answer, "That she was very well pleased to find the House of Commons had so compassionate a sense of the losses of her subjects in Nevis and St. Christopher's; as also with the concern they shewed upon this occasion for the plantations, which were so justly entitled to their care, by the large returns they made to the public; and her Majesty would give the necessary orders for what the house had desired in that matter." Accordingly, her Majesty was afterwards pleased to appoint two gentlemen, of known ability and integrity, to go to the said islands, to procure an exact state of the losses of her subjects there, in order to their being put on such a footing, as might be best for the particular benefit of the inhabitants, and the general good of these kingdoms.

The house having had notice of the great declension of our interest in, and of our lucrative trade to Newfoundland; the marquis of Caermarthen having likewise acquainted them, that certain pirates had made a great and dangerous settlement at Madagascar, where they threatened to erect a kind of thievish republic, little inferior to those on the coast of Barbary; and having offered to go himself with a small squadron, to put an end to this mischief while there was a probability of doing it, the house appointed a committee to take these matters into their consideration; who, after having thoroughly examined them, came to the following resolutions:

"I. That a great number of pirates have settled themselves in the island of Madagascar, from whence they have committed many great piracies, robberies, and depredations, very ruinous to trade, and whereby the lives of many of her Majesty's good subjects have been destroyed.

"II. That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, that she would be graciously pleased to take into her royal consideration, how the said pirates may be suppressed, and their further piracies, robberies, and depredations, may be effectually prevented." Which resolutions were, on the 8th of April, agreed to by the house. The same day it was resolved, "That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, that she will be graciously pleased to use her royal endeavours to recover and preserve the ancient possessions, trade, and fishery, in Newfoundland."

Her Majesty received these addresses very graciously, and promised that proper care should be taken with respect to the matters contained in them: and thus ended the proceedings of this session of parliament, with which I shall conclude the events of this winter.

We have now run through the naval transactions of about eighteen years, in which short space there happened so many things worthy of remark, and our maritime power increased to such a degree, that it is with no small difficulty that I have been able to bring them into this compass. But a bare relation of events will very little benefit ordinary readers, if they are not attended with some few reflections, in order to point out the advantages and disadvantages which befel society in consequence of these transactions. The two wars in which we were engaged, in conjunction with the Dutch, as they demonstrated on the one hand our mighty power at sea, so on the other they put us to a prodigious expence. The House of Commons, in the year 1702, in a representation tc the queen, say expressly, that from November 1688, to March the eighth, 1701, there had been raised for the service of the war, forty-five millions five hundred sixty-eight thousand seven hundred twenty-five pounds nineteen shillings and two-pence half-penny; an immense sum indeed! As to the expences of Queen Anne's war, we shall take notice of them when we come to the conclusion of it:

at present let us observe, that one national end, with respect to England, was, in this last war particularly, in a great measure answered, I mean the destruction of the French power at sea; for after the battle of Malaga, we hear no more of their great fleets; and though by this the number of their privateers was very much increased, yet the losses of our merchants were far less in the latter than in the former reign, which I think was chiefly owing to a series of inquiries constantly carried on either in one house of parliament or the other.

The success of our arms at sea, and the necessity of protecting our trade, joined to the popularity of every step taken towards the increasing our maritime power, occasioned such measures to be pursued in order thereto, as annually added to its force. The great storm in 1703, the misfortunes that so many squadrons met with in the West Indies, our ill luck in regard to the Dunkirk privateers, and, in short, every other untoward accident which fell out within this period of time, though it bore hard upon private persons, and was injurious to our trade in general, yet it was in the main beneficial to our marine, inasmuch as it gave a handle for augmenting it, as every thing tending thereto was well received. Hence arose that mighty difference which, at the close of the year 1706, appeared in the royal navy: this not only in the number, but in the quality of the ships of which it was composed, was greatly superior to what it had been from the time of the revolution, or even before it.

The economy and discipline of our marine were also much mended, and those jealousies in a great measure worn out, which had been very prejudicial to men of the greatest merit, during the preceding reign, as they certainly were in the latter part of this, when they were most unfortunately revived. The great encouragement given to the sailors, by taking the utmost care of the sick and wounded, exact and speedy paying of prize-money, and the many extraordinary orders that from time to time were issued in their favour, and are still to be met with in our Gazettes, from whence some of them have been cited in this work, gave a mighty spirit to our sailors, and in a manner extinguished that prejudice which has since revived against going to sea in a man of war. Thus, in this respect, whatever we might do in others, the nation certainly throve by the war; that is to say, we grew constantly stronger, our fleets were more numerous, and better manned; so that at the time I conclude this chapter, we were much more capable of asserting our claim to the dominion of the sea, than at the time the war began.

If any of my readers should entertain a doubt, either as to the truth of the facts here laid down, or the validity of the judgment I have delivered upon them, I think I need only turn him over, for satisfaction, to foreign authors; for certainly, if they concur in sentiment with me on this head, there ought to be no dispute about it. But if we dip into any of the French political writers, we shall not fail to find them deploring the visible decay of their maritime power, from the time of the battle of Malaga, and constantly blaming the administration for not bending their thoughts to the recovery of it so much as they ought to have done; which they, generally speaking, ascribe to the vast expence of the war by land, which would not, by any means, admit the diverting such supplies as were necessary for the service of the sea. From these complaints, which are certainly well founded, it is manifest that, on the one hand, their maritime power declined, whilst ours increased; and, on the other, that this declension grew so fast upon them, that their ablest ministers thought it in vain to struggle, and therefore gave up all further concern for their reputation in this respect, in a fit of despair, out of which nothing but our inactivity or negligence would recover them.

To this I may add, that as the Spanish naval power had been long decaying, so by this war it was totally destroyed: they had indeed a few gallies in the battle of Malaga, and it may be half a dozen men of war in the West Indies; but, upon the whole, they had such occasion for ships of force, and had so few of them, that the assistance given them by the French, contributed not a little to the declension of their marine, as appears by the destruction of their men of war at Vigo, which was a loss they were never able to repair; and though it be very true, that whilst Spain was governed by a prince of the house of Austria, and lived in amity with us, we were rather bound to encourage and protect, than, in any way to lessen or depress the Spanish power at sea; yet by the passing of the crown into the house of Bourbon, our interest, in this respect, was entirely changed, and the lessening their maritime strength was a comparative augmentation of our own; and this I take to be the principal reason, that through the course of the war, France complained so much of the burden of Spain. For though by the returns of her Plate-fleets, and letting the French for a time share in the trade of the South-Seas, she might repair that loss of treasure, which the maintaining so many armies for her service might occasion, yet the loss of that maritime power, which was now to protect both states, was a loss that never could be repaired, as reason informed all wise people then, and as we have been taught by experience since.

It may, perhaps, be said, that as the Dutch were concerned in this war as well as we, as they shared jointly in the dangers and expences of it, so they must have been equally gainers in respect to their trade and maritime power. But as to this it is most evident, that the French, according to the information they received from the most intelligent Dutchmen, take the thing to be quite otherwise, and argue on it to the Dutch themselves, as if it was a fact out of dispute, from whence they take occasion to allege, that while the English made a pretence of ruining the maritime power of France, they in reality aimed at doing so much for the Dutch, in order to secure universal trade, and the supreme power of the sea, to themselves. How far the fortune of war might put this in our power, I will not say, but this I will venture to assert, and hope it will be readily credited, that such a thing was never in our intention. The supplanting allies is a strain of policy common to the French, but, without partiality I may say, unknown to Britons. We have fought for our allies, and conquered for our allies; nay, we have sometimes paid our allies for fighting in their own cause, and for their own profit; but to outwit our allies, especially our favourite allies the Dutch, was, I dare say, never in our will, or in our power.

This, indeed, I must own, that in the conduct of this war, especially to the year 1706, we had as much the lead in councils as ever the Dutch had in the former war; for this we paid largely, and, I think, we had a right to it, if we got any thing by it. I must also ingenuously confess, that the economy of the Dutch greatly hurt their reputation and their trade. Their men of war in the Mediterranean were always victualled short, and their convoys were so weak and ill-provided, that for one ship which we lost, they lost five, which begat a general notion, that we were the safer carriers, which certainly had a good effect: so that, taking all things together, I doubt whether the credit of the English nation abroad, or the spirits of the people at home, were ever higher than at this period of time.

Hence it was that our trade rather increased than diminished in this last war, and that we gained so signally by our strict intercourse with Portugal; concerning which I will take the liberty of running over a few facts that are not commonly attended to.

When the war first broke out, Portugal was allied to the two crowns; and with great difficulty it was that we detached that monarch from their interest: but the means by which we detached him, ought not to remain a secret. In the treaty which he concluded with Louis XIV. and his grandson, he had stipulated that he should be protected by an annual fleet from France; but when he found that this could not be complied with, and that if he performed his part of the agreement, his coast would be left open to the insults of the maritime powers, he saw the necessity of changing his party, which induced him to make a treaty with us in 1703; and when the French minister, M. De Chateauneuff, reproached him for thus changing sides, Don Pedro replied, with great spirit, "If your master had sent thirty ships of the line to cruize between Lisbon and Setubal, I had never quitted his alliance; and therefore I would have you let him know, that he ought to blame himself, not me, for the consequences."

By the treaty of commerce concluded with the same crown by Mr. Methuen, we were prodigious gainers; and I will even venture to say, that this single alliance was worth more to us, than all the negociations in the former reign. The Portuguese began to feel the comfortable effects of the mines they had discovered in Brazil, and the prodigious commerce that followed thereupon with us, made their good fortune in this respect, in a great measure ours also; and so it has been ever since, otherwise I know not how the expences of the war could have been borne: for, as Dr. Davenant justly computed, the running cash of this kingdom, at the time the revolution happened, could not be above eighteen millions; at the accession of the queen we had not so much; but at the time of concluding the Union it was increased again very considerably, which must be attributed in a great measure to our Portugal trade:

and this, as I have made it manifest, we owed entirely to our superior power at sea.

As to our trade with the Spanish West Indies, by the canal of Cadiz, it was certainly very much interrupted by the war at the beginning; but afterwards it was in a good measure restored, as well by our direct correspondence with Spain, after the reduction of several provinces under the power of King Charles III. as through Portugal, by which a very great, though contraband, trade was carried on. We were at the same time very great gainers by our commerce with the Spaniards in the West Indies, as I am satisfied from several French authors, who complain that their colonies suffered much less from our naval force than they did from the loss of this trade; which is strongly confirmed by the complaints of the Jamaica merchants against Commodore Ker, who was very negligent in protecting their sloop trade, by which they were great sufferers. The reason they assign also for his negligence, is yet a stronger proof; for they allege, that he would not grant them convoys, without sharing in their profits; and if these had not been very considerable, they could never have tempted an officer of his rank to run such a risk. The same thing may be said of the complaints of the other colonies, which, however just in themselves, yet if they, as it is evident they did, grew richer, more populous, and carried their trade farther than in former times, then it is surely as evident, that the nation in general gained considerably in this branch; to which I may add, that the act for giving a bounty upon hemp imported from our plantations, and other laws, were sufficient instances of the inclination of the ministry to promote commerce and navigation as far as lay in their power.

There is another remark that naturally arises upon this subject, and that is, the mighty spirit which appeared amongst our merchants, and enabled them to carry on all their schemes with a vigour that kept a constant circulation of money through the kingdom, and afforded such mighty encouragement to all manufactures, as have rendered the remembrance of those times grateful in worse. Our successes abroad, our victories by land and sea, the respect paid to us by all the states of Europe, served to heighten and sustain this spirit, which is at once the source and soul of prosperity; and a nation grows low and lifeless, as soon as it is taken away.

There were, indeed, some accidental advantages which attended the latter part especially of this period, that have not been always visible in preceding or succeeding times. Amongst these I reckon, in the first place, an unfeigned loyalty; for it was the felicity of this princess, that her person was dear to all her subjects; nay, even to those who questioned her title: and this produced another advantage, which was a kind of coalition of parties, of which I rather chuse to say something at the end of this chapter, because, after the Union, parties broke loose again, and threw us, as they will always do, into the utmost confusion. At the beginning of the war, the Tories were as heartily for it as the Whigs; and if they grew weary of it by degrees, it must be acknowledged, that they might be tempted thereto in some respects by the ill usage that they met with.

While the duke of Marlborough was esteemed a Tory, his services were often extenuated; and though the parliament gave him thanks, there was a party that denied him merit. When he and the treasurer went over to the Whigs, the scale turned so strongly in their favour, that none could be employed who were not of this denomination; and thus Sir George Rooke was laid aside, immediately after he had gained a victory, honourable in every respect, but most honourable in this, that it was wholly owing to the prudence and conduct of the admiral. Before the Whigs gained this ascendancy, and both parties were embarked in the cause of their country, their unanimity produced those supplies, which enabled our armies and fleets to act as they did; and taught the most haughty and faithless of all powers, that bounds might be set to its force, though not to its ambition. The last advantage of which I shall speak was, the public spirit of parliaments in the queen's reign. If they gave in one sessions, they inquired in the next; and it is impossible to mention any remarkble expedition within the first six years, which was not examined and cleared up by such inquiries; so that the people saw and knew what they were doing, which encouraged them to pay chearfully, at the same time that it put them upon endeavouring to acquire by their industry what might maintain them happily, notwithstanding these large, but necessary expences.

It is certainly matter of great satisfaction to me, and must be so to every man who wishes well to his country, that after running through a series of such events, setting out at first with the sight of so great a naval power as the French king had assembled, while we struggled under many difficulties; and when we got out of that troublesome war, found ourselves loaded with a debt too heavy to be shaken off in a short interval of peace; it must, I say, be a great satisfaction to be able, at the close of this chapter, to assert, that we had overcome all these difficulties; and, instead of seeing the navy of France riding on our coasts, sent every year a powerful fleet to insult theirs, superior to them, not only in the ocean, but in the Mediterranean, forcing them, as it were, entirely out of the sea; and this, not by the thunder of our cannon, but by the distant prospect of our flag; as at the raising of the siege of Barcelona, when the son of the French king, the famous Count Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, fled from Sir John Leake, and took shelter in the harbour of Toulon.

By this, we not only secured our trade in the Levant, and strengthened our interest with all the Italian princes, but struck the states of Barbary with terror, and even awed the Grand Seignior himself so far, as to prevent his listening to any propositions from France. Such were the fruits of the increase of our naval power, and of the manner in which it was employed; and though some, through misconception of the advantages flowing from this disposition in those princes and states; and some again, from a perverse humour, perhaps, of objecting against whatever carried us into a great expence, inveighed against sending such mighty fleets into those seas; yet nothing can be plainer, than that while we continued this war, such fleets were necessary; that they at once protected our allies, and attached them to our interest; and, which is of greater importance than all the rest, that they established our reputation for maritime force so effectually, that we feel even at this day the happy effects of that fame which we then acquired. Of what consequence, therefore, could the expences of these fleets, however large, be to a nation like this? especially if we consider, that the greatest part of it only shifted hands; since it is the peculiar property of naval expences, that, though they rise ever so high, they can hardly ever impoverish, because they are raised on one part of the society, and laid out with the other, and, by a natural circulation, must certainly very soon return into the first hands.

It is a further satisfaction, that we can safely say our trade flourished through the course of the war, and our merchants were so loyal to the queen, and so well affected to her government, that upon every occasion they were ready to credit the administration with the best part of that immense wealth that had been raised under their protection. These were glorious times indeed, if riches, victory, and honour, can render a nation glorious; and for all these mighty advantages, we stood indebted to the maternal affection of the queen; the wisdom and probity of her ministers; the heroic courage and generous public-spirit of the officers she employed by land and sea; and, above all, to the sincere union of parties amongst us, the contempt of private advantages, and a steady concern for the safety, reputation, and future prosperity of this nation.

CHAP. XXI.

The Naval History of Great Britain, from the Union of the two Kingdoms, to the End of the Reign of her Majesty Queen Anne.

AS I propose to make the UNION of the two kingdoms the great event from whence, in this chapter, I shall deduce our naval history to the present times; and as this event in itself has had a great influence on the naval power and commerce of this nation, I think I cannot act with greater propriety, than to open the chapter with an impartial account of that important transaction. This I take to be the more necessary, because almost all historians, and writers of memoirs, have given too much way to their passions and prejudices, in what they say about it; and this to so great a degree, that they not only contradict and abuse each other, but also darken things in such a manner, that even the most intelligent reader can hardly discern the truth. As I am not conscious of feeling in myself so much as a spark of party-heat; as I have some relation to, and at the same time an equal affection for both countries, without the least bias in favour of either, I shall endeavour to give a clear, succinct, and fair account of this whole business; in order to which, I shall begin with the motives which induced the queen's ministry to push this matter so earnestly at that time: I shall next consider, the advantages proposed to each nation from this Union, which will consequently oblige me to say somewhat of the persons who opposed, and the grounds of their opposition to it; after which, I shall give a very short detail of the rise, progress, conclusion, and consequences of it.

It had been very apparent almost to every English ministry, from the time the two kingdoms had been united under one monarch, that something was wanting to complete that strength and harmony, which every reasonable man looked for from this conjunction; neither was it long, before some able statesman perceived what it was that must produce this effect; and a national union accordingly was proposed in the reign of King James I.

It was defeated then, as great and good designs are generally defeated, through want of public spirit. The king was partial to his countrymen, and the English were partial to their country. The former thought it his duty to make all his old dependents rich, in a manner not over justifiable; and the last despised the poverty of that nation to such a degree, that they forgot how far their own power and riches might suffer from such treatment.

Under King Charles I. his old hereditary subjects departed from their duty to him, and, a potent faction in England inclining the same way, the great weight of these northern neighbours was soon made but too evident, by the murder of the king, and the destruction of the constitutions of both kingdoms. After the restoration, the politics of Charles II. took such a turn, as necessarily occasioned all thoughts of a closer union between the two crowns to be laid aside, it having been a maxim, during his reign, to make use of one nation to awe the other. The unfortunate King James II. sat too short a time on the throne, and felt too many cares, from the time he ascended it, to form any projects of this nature, though otherwise much might have been expected from him; for he was certainly a better judge himself, of the interest of both kingdoms, than any prince of his line. Some thoughts there were of an union in the beginning of King William's time; but the design was dropped from the belief, or rather the apprehension, of its being impracticable.*

The lord high-treasurer Godolphin, one of the ablest and most prudent ministers we ever had, saw very soon the expediency of such a thorough national union, for the public service, and the necessity of it for his own safety. He saw that, without this, the Hanover succession could never take place, the war with France be effectually carried on, or the new system that he was then introducing, ever be established on a firm basis. As he was far from affecting the exercise of a boundless arbitrary power, so, to establish his influence in Scotland, he had, through the advice of some of the statesmen of that country, given way to the passing some acts of parliament there, which enabled the people to stand upon even ground with the English, and put it in their power, when they were at any time crossed, to carry things very high, and consequently to talk much higher.†

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* In the text I have given a succinct account of the several designs formed for uniting the two kingdoms. I am not ignorant that there were other attempts of that nature; such as in the reign of King Charles II. in the beginning of that of King William; as also in the beginning of the queen's reign: but these were mere arts of state policy, and not founded upon any settled design of really bringing it about; and therefore, as the nature of this work would not allow me to enter into a strict chronological deduction of this affair, I thought the best thing I could do, was to give the reader, as far as in my power lay, a true state of the matter, in the shortest compass possible.

† Whatever other writers may assert, this was undoubtedly the fact. The English parliament had recommended the succession, I mean the procuring the Hanover succession to be settled in Scotland, very earnestly. The parliament of Scotland, inclined to make use of this opportunity, to get some favourable conditions stipulated for their trade; and as quiet was at this time very necessary, and in the nature of the thing, perhaps, the desires of the parliament of Scotland not altogether unreasonable, they were allowed to pass an act, by which the prerogative of the crown was limited, and peace and war were left, not only to the approbation, but to the consent of parliament. This, with another act

In order to rid himself of these difficulties, the treasurer, in conjunction with Lord Somers, formed the scheme of the Union, which they resolved should not be a temporary expedient, but such an act as might remove all their doubts and fears effectually, and for ever. When they had settled this project to their own satisfaction, they took the advice of some great men of the other kingdom, particularly the earl of Stair, a man of vast abilities, and, in all the senses of the word, a perfect politician. He it was who gave them the lights they wanted; he shewed them how, and by what means, his countrymen might be managed; he pointed out such as would oppose it heartily, and such as would oppose it only till they found their account in desisting from that opposition. In short, he gave both the first plan of, and the last form to this great work, and dictated the means which made it both plausible and practicable.

In regard to the advantages resulting from this measure to both kingdoms, they were, in the judgment of the ministry, very great; on the side of England especially, and of Scotland apparently. With regard to the former, the benefits derived from it were real and substantial, but some of them were such as it was not thought proper to avow. For example, the government in England could never be safe, whilst Scotland remained an independant kingdom, at liberty to make laws, set up trading companies, or raise forces whenever she thought fit; nor was the succession safe, while the parliament of Scotland had

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impowering the Scots to arm themselves, alarmed the English House of Commons to such a degree, as to address the queen, to order the militia of the four northern counties to be disciplined, and to take some other steps, which had a direct tendency to plunge the two nations in a war. The treasurer, therefore, saw himself under the necessity of bringing about an union, to avoid these mighty inconveniencies, and to enable him to carry on his great scheme, of ruining the power of France; which must certainly have miscarried, if these domestic quarrels had come to extremities.

an indubitable right to depart from that measure, and a strong party was actually formed in that country for departing from it.

An entire, absolute, and uniform dominion over Scotland, was necessary to the safety, power, and commerce of England; and this dominion could be attained no other way. The danger of having princes drawn to pursue different measures in the different kingdoms, or to govern in England upon the maxims of northern ministers, the mischiefs of which had been severely felt, and thoroughly understood, from the power of the duke of Lauderdale with King Charles II. which lasted during life, and which, without disputing how far it was right or wrong, enabled the king to maintain his power in both countries, and that too in a higher degree than was very acceptable to a great part of his subjects, in either, was yet recent.

The other motives that were commonly insisted upon, were these; *viz.* The uniting the interests of both kingdoms, which had often thwarted each other, and thereby giving the united kingdoms, or, which was the same thing, England, much greater force, and consequently much greater weight abroad; the conveniency of bringing both nations under one form of government, the seat of which must always remain fixed in England, and consequently all advantages accruing to Scotland for the future, must be drawn to, and centre there; the extirpating the French and Jacobite interest, where it was evidently strongest, introducing the Hanover succession, securing the Protestant interest, giving one turn of mind to all the people in the island, putting them under the same rulers, the same taxes, and the same prohibitions, so as to have but one political head, with a due subordination of members; these were considerations so high in themselves, and of such certainty in their consequences, that the bulk of the English nobility and gentry were no sooner acquainted with them, than they were convinced of their utility, and that it was not very easy to set the purchase at too high a rate; especially, when they considered the mischiefs to which they had been exposed in former times from the want of such an union. The ministry had a just foresight of this, and gave themselves, therefore, very little trouble about preparing their friends in England for the reception and execution of their scheme, because they knew, that whenever it was proposed and explained, it would make its own way; and their good sense, and right judgment in this management, were fully justified by the event.

The advantages proposed to Scotland were, the freeing that kingdom from all the grievances of which they had so long, and so justly complained; such as, that their interest always gave way to that of England; that their concerns abroad were sacrificed, instead of being protected; that, with equal prejudice to them, they were considered sometimes as subjects, but mostly as foreigners; that they were discouraged in carrying on their trade and manufactures; and, in fine, continually upbraided with their poverty, while it was made an invariable maxim of English policy, to keep them poor. By this Union, it was proposed to make them one nation with the English, and to admit them to a full participation of their liberties, privileges, and commerce; as also to a share in the government and legislature, and a perpetual conjunction of interests at home and abroad; so that henceforward the government of the united kingdom would be equally in the hands of persons of both countries, which would prevent partiality on the one side, and take away many hardships that had hitherto been felt on the other.

In short, it was insinuated, that, for the sake of peace and general security, the English were content to grant their neighbours, not only as good conditions as they could well expect, but even better than they could reasonably desire; and that, to obtain the friendship and assistance of Scotland, the people of England were desirous to bury in oblivion all their former prejudices, and to contribute, as far as lay in their power, to support and enrich the inhabitants of the northern part of the island, and to treat them so favourably in point of taxes, as that they should have many and strong reasons to be very well pleased with the exchange of nominal prerogatives, for real and weighty advantages.

Such as opposed the Union in Scotland, were either the friends of the Stuart family, or such as were, from neglect or disappointment, discontented under that administration. The former were in earnest concerned, for the dignity and independency of the crown of Scotland, the honour of the nobility, and the welfare of the people, considered by them as a nation having interests separate from, and in some cases opposite to, those of the English. These men, upon their principles, heartily disliked the Union, and had reason to dislike it.* But as for the malecontents, they set up pretences of an odd and extraordinary nature, and while they pretended zeal for the government, alleged, that Scotland would be prejudiced by the Union; which, according to their principles, it was impossible to prove.

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* Bishop Burnet's reflections upon this subject, which he understood as well as any man, deserve the reader's notice and attention. "The treaty," says he, "being laid before the parliament in Scotland, met with great opposition there. It was visible, that the nobility of that kingdom suffered a great diminution by it; for, though it was agreed, that they should enjoy all the other privileges of the peers of England, yet the greatest of them all, which was the voting in the House of Lords, was restrained to sixteen, to be elected by the rest, at every new parliament; yet there was a greater majority of the nobility that concurred in voting for the Union, than in the other states of that kingdom. The commissioners for the shires and boroughs were almost equally divided, though it was evident, they were to be the chief gainers by it; among these, the Union was agreed to, by a very small majority: it was the nobility that in every vote turned the scale for the Union. They were severely reflected on by those who opposed it; it was said, many of them were bought off to sell their country, and their birth-right. All those who adhered inflexibly to the Jacobite interest, opposed every step that was made, with great vehemence; for they saw, that the Union struck at the root of all their views and designs for a new revolution; yet these could

There was a third party in Scotland, which must be allowed by men of all principles, to have acted with great candour and uprightness. These were styled the Squadrone, and, if I might be allowed to translate the word into political English, I should call them Old Whigs. They had been very instrumental in the revolution, and were cordial friends to the government; but, from motives of state which I shall not take upon me to explain, had been turned out of their places, and ill enough treated during this reign. These men, however, remained firm to their principles, which led them to approve and promote the Union; and they did it with great zeal. Their arguments were strong and conclusive, and made the greater impression, because they were disinterested. There was, as is usual in cases of the like nature, a good deal of corruption practised; but all this would never have carried the point, if it had not been abetted by the industry and zeal of these worthy men. The earl of Stair, who was not of their number, knew this, and therefore advised taking them, and the country party, into the commission for settling that important treaty; but his advice was followed by the ministers only in the latter part, which, though it

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not have raised or maintained so great an opposition as was now made, if the Presbyterians had not been possessed with a jealousy, that the consequence of this Union would be the change of church-government among them, and that they would be swallowed up by the church of England. This took such root in many, that no assurances that were offered could remove their fears. It was infused into them, chiefly by the old duchess of Hamilton, who had great credit with them. And it was suggested, that she and her son had particular views, as hoping, that if Scotland should continue a separate kingdom, the crown might come into their family, they being the next in blood after King James's posterity."

amazed the world at that time, had however the effect he expected from it, and was one great cause that the affair succeeded so well as it did.

All things being thus settled, the queen, by her commission, dated at Kensington, the 27th of February, 1706, in virtue of powers granted to her by an act of parliament, passed in Scotland, appointed thirty commissioners on the part of Scotland, and on the 10th of April following, her Majesty appointed as many English commissioners.* This commission was opened at the Cockpit, on the 16th of April, 1706, William Cowper, Esq. then lord-keeper, delivering the sense of the English commissioners, and the earl of Seafield, lord high-chancellor of Scotland, acted in like manner on the part of their commissioners. On the first of May, the queen paid them a visit, and inquired into the progress they had made.

About a month after, she did the same; and these instances of royal care had such an effect, that on the 22d of July, the commissioners signed and sealed the articles, which were presented to the queen the next day. By these articles, which were in number twenty-five, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, were united, under the title of GREAT BRITAIN; the Protestant succession settled; one parliament established; the common enjoyment of privileges and commerce stipulated; ships built in Scotland, admitted under the act of navigation; an equal distribution of customs and excises fixed; the duties upon salt regulated; the land-tax adjusted in the following proportion; *viz.* that when England paid 1,997,736*l.* 8*s.* 4½*d.* Scotland should pay 48,000*l.* and so in proportion; and, as an equivalent for Scotland's being charged with the debts of England, there was granted to the former by the latter, the sum of 398,085*l.* 10*s.* to be applied to the discharge of the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland, the capital stock of the African and India company, with interest at 5 *per cent.* and for the improvement of manufactures and trade in that part of the island. It was also provided, that the monies and weights of Scotland should be the same with those of England; the Scots courts of justice were preserved, together with all hereditary offices, and the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs; the representative body of Scotland was fixed at sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, which though small in proportion to the English peers and commoners, yet was high in comparison of the share borne by Scotland in the taxes; the rights and privileges of the rest of the peers were fully secured; so that, except sitting in the house, they were to enjoy all the privileges of the peerage; and all the laws of either kingdom, inconsistent with the Union, were declared null and void.*

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* See the Journal of the Proceeding of the noble and honourable persons who acted for both nations in the Treaty of Union, which began on the 16th of April, 1706, and was concluded on the 22d of July following, with the Articles then agreed on in London, 1706. The queen's commission to the lords commissioners of both kingdoms are prefixed thereto.

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* The advantages on the side of Scotland were such, as enabled those who supported the Union, to say many strong things in its favour; for whereas, when England paid two millions by way of land-tax, Scotland was to pay but forty-eight thousand pounds, yet, in return for bearing a fortieth part of the expence, they had the eleventh part of the legislature given them; and the event has shewn, that the power of their members in a British parliament is not so inconsiderable as the enemies of that treaty represented it to the parliament. There were, besides, some other strong motives which induced the better sort of the inhabitants of Scotland to wish well to the Union. A great part of the gentry of that kingdom, who had been often in England, and observed the protection that all men had from a House of Commons, and the security that it procured against partial judges and a violent ministry, entered into the design with great zeal. The opening a free trade, not only with England, but with the plantations, and the protection of the fleet of England, drew in those who understood those matters, and who saw there was no other way to make the nation rich and considerable. Those also who had engaged deeply in the design of Darien, and were great losers by it, saw now an honourable way to be reimbursed; which made them wish well to the Union, and promote it.

In the next session of parliament in Scotland, the Union was carried, though not without great debates, and some protests. In England it went easier. In the House of Commons, there was little or no opposition; there would have been a very warm one in the House of Lords, but it was prevented by the wisdom of Sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards Viscount Harcourt, and lord-chancellor, who drew the act so, that it would admit of no debate, but upon the general question, whether it should, or should not pass.*

It was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 274, against 160, and was carried up to the House of Lords on the 1st of March, by the late earl of Wilmington, then Spencer Compton, Esq; passed in that house by a majority of 55, to 29, and on the 6th of March the queen came, and gave her royal assent; upon which occasion her Majesty delivered herself thus: "I consider this Union as a matter of the greatest importance, to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island; and at the same time as a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that till now, all attempts which have been made towards it, in the course of above one hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore, I make no doubt, but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. I desire, and expect from all my subjects, of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the world, they have hearts disposed to become one people; this will be a great pleasure to me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the good effects of this Union. And I cannot but look upon it as a particular happiness, that in my reign, so full a provision is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the security of our religion, by so firm an establishment of the Protestant succession throughout Great Britain. Gentlemen of the House of Commons; I take this occasion to remind you of making effectual provision for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland, within the time appointed by this act, and I am persuaded you will shew as much readiness in this particular, as you have done in all the parts of this great work."

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* We have this fact from Bishop Burnet, who lays it down in a very clear and satisfactory manner. " When all was agreed to," says he, " in both houses, a bill was ordered to be brought in, to enact it, which was prepared by Harcourt, with so particular a contrivance, that it cut off all debates. The preamble was a recital of the articles, as they were passed in Scotland, together with the acts made in both parliaments, for the security of their several churches; and, in conclusion, there came one enacting clause, ratifying all. This put those upon great difficulties, who had resolved to object to several articles, and to insist on demanding some alterations in them; for they could not come to any debate about them; they could not object to the recital, it being but bare matter of fact; and they had not strength enough to oppose the general enacting clause, nor was it easy to come at particulars, and to offer provisos relating to them. The matter was carried on with such zeal, that it passed through the House of Commons, before those, who intended to oppose it, had recovered themselves out of the surprise under which, the form it was drawn in, had put them. It did not stick long in the House of Lords, for all the articles had been copiously debated there for several days before the bill was sent up to them; and thus this great design, so long wished and laboured for in vain, was begun and happily ended, within the compass of nine months. The Union was to commence on the first of May, and till that time the two kingdoms were still distinct, and their two parliaments continued still to sit,

It is certain, that the passing the Union was a mortal blow to the French; and it is no less certain, that the French did not exert themselves, as they might have done, to prevent it. Yet I am far from thinking with Bishop Burnet, though I esteem his account of the Union very much, that this proceeded from an absolute inability, and that they did not, according to their common practice, try the influence of their gold, because they had it not; I say, I do not think this, because I apprehend I shall be able to shew the contrary. The true reason, then, in my judgment, why the French were so cool in this affair, was this; they thought that, though the Union would destroy their interest in Scotland entirely, if it could be established, yet, that the suffering that law to pass, was the likeliest way for them to defeat it: for they depended upon a back game; and, looking upon it as a thing certain, that this would throw Scotland into the utmost confusion, they projected an invasion, not with any sincere intention of fixing the son of King James upon the throne of Scotland, but of making use of him to excite a civil war in that kingdom, which, they apprehended, would at least force England to consent to the dissolution of the Union, in order to make the people of Scotland easy.

If this had not been their scheme, why did they afterwards attempt the invasion? If want of money had been the only reason for their not exerting their influence, how came they by the mighty sums of ready money, which that fruitless and foolish invasion cost them? I have now done with this affair of the Union, and shall only add my opinion of it freely, which is, that both nations have been great gainers by it, and that neither have the least cause to complain of it. If, on the one hand, the inhabitants of North Britain have not profited as much by it as they expected, it is their own fault; for, without industry and application to Trade, it is impossible any nation should be great gainers by it; and, on the other, if the English repine at seeing so many of that nation in civil, military, and naval employments, they are blind to their own interests; for it is plain, that by acting in this manner, these men waste all their days in the service of England; whereas, if they applied themselves to commerce and manufactures, they might live happily in their own, and enjoy there the greatest freedom and independency.

The war had now continued long enough to make both sides very weary of it, and yet the French were not sufficiently humbled, to think of peace on the terms prescribed to them. On the contrary, they found means this campaign, to bring more troops into the field, than since the war began; which obliged the allies to make as formidable augmentations to oppose them. In short, as the maritime powers bore the largest share in the expence, and reaped the least immediate benefit from the continuance of the war, it was resolved to make the utmost efforts this year to put an end to it. With this view, the duke of Marlborough, and the English ministry, concerted several schemes for distressing the enemy on all sides, particularly in Spain, in Italy, and even in their own country; and this, especially, by the help of the great maritime power we then had in the Mediterranean.* It would lead us into frequent and unnecessary repetitions, if we should enter here into a copious detail of these projects, and therefore, to avoid such inconveniences, we will speak of each in its turn, and, as near as may be, in the order of time in which they were undertaken.

In respect to the war with Spain, an opinion began about this time to prevail in England, that it was neglected, chiefly because the ministry found it impracticable to push this, and the war in Flanders at the same time. The duke of Marlborough knowing how injurious this report was to his reputation, pressed the prosecution of the war in Spain this year, with the utmost spirit; the rather, because a great reinforcement of English and Dutch troops had been lately sent thither: and it was very well known, that Sir

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* It is very surprising, that France, after such a series of misfortunes, should be able to make the figure that she did this year. The truth, however, seems to be, that the absolute power of her government, gave her great advantages over the allies. The emperor's consenting to the evacuation of Italy, without so much as consulting either Great Britain or Holland, was the great source of King Philip's success in Spain; and whoever considers attentively the French schemes for carrying on this campaign, will easily discern, that they must have met with the like success every where else, if it had not been for our expedition against Toulon.

Cloudesley Shovel would neglect nothing that might contribute to the advancement of the service. The army under the command of the earl of Galway, was very early in the field, and promised great things; but whether his abilities were unequal to such a command, as some have suggested; or, as others allege, King Charles ruined his own affairs, by marching back with a great body of troops into Catalonia; so it was, that about the middle of the month of April, that nobleman found himself under the dreadful necessity, at least as he imagined, of either starving, or fighting a superior army.

Accordingly, on the 14th of April, his lordship, with about sixteen thousand men, ventured to give battle to the duke of Berwick, who had twenty-four thousand, and of these nearly eight thousand horse and dragoons, that were very fine troops. The English and Dutch were at first victorious, and broke through the enemy twice; but the Portuguese, it is said, behaved very ill, or rather did not behave at all, which gave the enemy an opportunity of flanking the English and Dutch, of whom about ten thousand were killed or taken prisoners. The earl of Galway retired with the broken remains of his army, which, however, nothing could have saved, but the timely appearance of our fleet. Sir Cloudesley Shovel knowing the distress that our army was in, through the want of almost every thing necessary, sent Sir George Byng, with a strong squadron to the coast of Spain for their relief. Sir George sailed on the thirtieth of March, and coming off Cape St. Vincent, on the fifteenth of April, he received there the news of our defeat.

He soon after received a message from Lord Galway, acquainting him with the distress he was in, and desiring, that whatever he brought for the use of the army, might be carried to Tortosa, in Catalonia, to which place his lordship designed to retreat, and that, if possible, he would save the sick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended the bridges of boats, baggage, and all things that could be got together, should be put on board. Accordingly, he took care of the sick and wounded men, and sent them to Tortosa, where the Lord Galway proposed to make a stand with the poor remains of the army. This service employed Sir George Byng almost the whole month of April, and then he was in daily expectation of being joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, from Lisbon, either on that part of the coast of Spain, or at Barcelona, whither he was destined. Thus all the great things that were hoped for, from the augmentation of our forces in Spain, were absolutely disappointed; and this, chiefly, through the unaccountable mismanagement of that prince, for whose service all these expensive and hazardous expeditions were undertaken. Let us now turn our eyes to Italy, where we shall find a scene much of the same nature.

The first design that was formed upon Toulon, by the duke of Savoy, is very positively said to have been concerted with the famous earl of Peterborough; but his royal highness, finding that nobleman had no longer any great credit at court, he changed the scheme entirely, and concerted by his ministers at London a new one, with the duke of Marlborough.* This, to say the truth, was the best design laid during the war, if we except the march into Germany, which had this advantage over it, that it was not only laid, but executed by the duke of Marlborough. The taking Toulon, if it could have been effected, would have destroyed for ever the maritime power of France; rendered her utterly incapable of carrying on any commerce with Spanish America, and have distressed her to such a degree at home, as must have produced an immediate peace, even upon worse terms than had been hitherto prescribed to her. All things were soon settled between us and the duke of Savoy; he could not undertake such an expedition without large supplies of money, and these we both promised and paid him: yet, even this would not have engaged him in so dangerous an attempt, if we had not given him the strongest assurances, that our fleet should constantly attend him; which we likewise very punctually fulfilled.

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* This is a very dark and perplexed affair; and, for any thing I can perceive, most of our historians are at a loss about it. The truth of the matter, to me, seems to be this. The duke of Savoy, and Prince Eugene, first proposed attacking Toulon, to the earl of Peterborough, who thereupon wrote to his court about it. In the mean time the duke of Marlborough had proposed the same thing to Count Massey abroad, and afterwards concerted the whole scheme with that minister, and Count Briançon at London. The duke of Savoy, however, did not think fit to acquaint the earl of Peterborough, that his project was laid aside; and this it was, if I conjecture right, that created all this confusion.

The first ill omen that appeared, was, the resolution taken by the emperor, at this juncture, when his forces in Italy should have been employed in promoting our design, to make with them the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. In vain our ministers represented to his Imperial Majesty the mighty things we had done for him and his family; the great importance of the present undertaking to the common cause, and the certainty of his acquiring Naples without resistance after the expedition was over. In vain were the like applications from the Dutch; and in vain the earl of Manchester's journey, and the queen's letter to dissuade him from that ill-timed attempt, though written in the strongest terms, and all with her own hand. He alleged, that such assurances had been given to his friends in Naples, that something should be immediately done for their service, that it was impossible for him to desist, and therefore, notwithstanding all these applications, Count Daun had orders to march with 12,000 men, part of the troops that should have been employed in the expedition against Toulon, to invade that kingdom; which he accordingly performed.*

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* Bishop Burnet, vol. ii. reflects upon this step taken by the

The duke of Savoy, notwithstanding this disappointment, continued, at least in all appearance, firm in his resolution, and it was resolved to prosecute this great design, with the assistance of the English fleet. Accordingly, Sir Cloudesley Shovel having joined Sir George Byng, near Alicant, sailed for the coast of Italy, and on the 5th of June, came to an anchor before Final, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty-seven transports. Prince Eugene went thither to confer with the admiral; and soon after the fleet sailed for Nice, where, on the 29th of the same month, the admiral had the honour to entertain the duke of Savoy, Prince Eugene, most of the general officers, together with the English and Dutch ministers, on board his own ship, the Association.*

After dinner, they held a council of war, and therein it was resolved to force a passage over the Var, in which hazardous enterprise the English admiral promised to assist. On the last of June, this daring attempt was undertaken, to the great astonishment of the French, who believed their works upon that river to be impregnable; and so indeed they would have proved, to any forces in the world, except English seamen. The late gallant Sir John, then only Captain Norris, with some British and one Dutch man of war, sailed to the mouth of the river, and em-

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emperor, very severely; and, I think, with great justice. But the emperor went yet further; for he sent such orders to Prince Eugene, to avoid, on all occasions, exposing his troops that were to be employed in the Toulon expedition, as proved one great cause of the miscarriage of the allies when they came before that city.

* Sir Cloudesley Shovel, though he was not one of the politest officers we ever had, shewed a great deal of prudence and address, in the magnificent entertainment he made upon this occasion. The duke, when he came on board the Association, found a guard of halberdiers, in new liveries, at the great cabin-door. At the upper end of the table was set an armed chair, with a crimson velvet canopy. The table consisted of sixty covers, and every thing was so well managed, that his royal highness could not forbear saying to the admiral at dinner, "If your excellency had paid me a visit at Turin, I could scarcely have treated you so well."

barking six hundred seamen, and marines, in open boats, entered it, and advanced within musket-shot of the enemy's works, making such a terrible fire upon them, that their cavalry, and many of their foot, astonished at an attack they never suspected, began to quit their intrenchments, and could not be prevailed upon by their officers to return.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who followed Sir John Norris to the place of action, no sooner saw this confusion, than he ordered Sir John to land with the seamen and marines, in order to flank the enemy. This was performed with so much spirit, and Sir John and his seamen scampered over works, which the French thought inaccessible, so suddenly, that the enemy, struck with a panic, threw down their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The duke of Savoy immediately pursued this advantage, and in a single half hour passed that river, which, in the judgment of the best officers in his army, had, without this assistance, proved the *ne plus ultra* of his expedition.*

On the 2d of July, his royal highness, and Prince Eugene, with the British envoy, and Sir John Norris, dined again on board the admiral; and after dinner, they entered into a conference, wherein, upon mature deliberation, his royal highness was pleased to declare, that since the queen of Great Britain had earnestly recommended to him the marching directly to Toulon, without losing time in the siege of any place of less importance, he was resolved to comply with her Majesty's proposal, and hoped for a good conclusion of the affair, through the continuance of her Majesty's friendship and assistance, which had encouraged him to undertake it. The army of the allies consisted of about 35,000 men, all inured to hardships, commanded by officers of the greatest experience, and of the highest reputation, supported by a numerous fleet, commanded by an admiral of known courage and conduct, who, upon all occasions, shewed the utmost zeal for the service, and particularly in this last conference, where the duke of Savoy having observed, that even after Toulon was taken, himself and his army might find it impracticable to retreat; the admiral replied, "I hope better things from your royal highnes's fortune; but, if there should be any appearance of such an event's happening, your highness may rely upon me, I will take care to supply a sufficient number of transports to embark all your troops." The duke thanked him for his generous offer; told him, he depended chiefly on the assistance he expected from him, and that, if he would repair to the island of Hieres, he should not long remain there, before he had advice of the army's being in the neighbourhood of Toulon, and that then he should expect to see the fleet in the road.*

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* It may not be amiss to cite, on this occasion, the words of the dispatch received from the confederate camp, July 14, N. S. as they are printed in the Lond. Gaz. N°. 4352. "The admiral himself followed Sir John Norris to the place of action, and observing the disorder of the enemy, commanded him to put to land, and flank them in their intrenchments. His men advanced in so undaunted a manner, that the enemy, fearing to be surrounded, marched out of their works, and retired with great precipitation. His royal highness having received from the admiral an account, that we were in possession of the enemy's works, ordered his troops to pass the river, which they did with so great eagerness, that above a hundred men were driven down by the violence of the stream, and ten of them drowned; which was all the loss we sustained, in forcing a pass, where we expected the most vigorous opposition."—Thus we see this whole affair was effected by English sailors.

It is impossible to describe the confusion into which this march of the duke of Savoy threw the

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* Thus far all things went well, because all parties were agreed; but from this very moment the business began to be clouded. The duke of Savoy, whatever the reason was, did not make the expedition he might have done; for though he began his march from the Var, on the 3d of July, yet he did not arrive before Toulon till the 15th. But when he found it necessary to make his retreat, he did it with much greater expedition, for though he began it on the 12th of August, he reached the Var by the 19th of the same month.

French. Toulon was not in any state of defence; they had no troops in that part of the country; they scarcely knew whence to bring them. They had then in the port a better fleet than they have been masters of since; besides twenty-five frigates, fire ships, and other vessels of the same size, all of which, they were sensible, were in the utmost danger of being destroyed. In this distress, Louis XIV. shewed less presence of mind than on any other occasion in his whole reign; for he condescended to recall the best officer in France, whom he had disgraced, I mean the Marshal Catinat, in order to consult him; and, after taking his advice, was prevailed upon, by female intrigues, to trust the execution of an affair of such importance to the Marshal De Tesse, who had so notoriously blemished the honour of the French arms by raising the siege of Gibraltar.

To say the truth, the zeal of his subjects contributed more to the preservation of the place, than either the monarch's care, or the skill of his generals; for the nobility and gentry of the adjacent provinces, did not content themselves with arming and marching thither their tenants and servants, but even coined their plate, and pawned their jewels, to raise money to pay the workmen employed in the fortifications, which were carried on with such amazing alacrity, that in three weeks time, the town, as well as the port, was in a pretty good state of defence; and they had, besides, in the neighbourhood three intrenched camps which, however, was all owing to the dilatoriness of the allies.*

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* One need not wonder at the surprise the French court was in, when the design of the duke of Savoy was no longer to be doubted; Toulon was then in such a situation, that, if the duke of Savoy had marched expeditiously, it is not easy to conceive how his enterprise could have miscarried. They did not begin to fortify the city, till he had passed the Var, and it was the 7th of August, N. S. before M. Tesse arrived there. Four days sooner would have given his royal highness possession of Toulon, without a blow, unless the French had been mad enough to have stood a storm; and

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the fleet under his command, sailed for the Hieres, after having made all the necessary dispositions for securing a safe and constant intercourse between the army, and the dominions of the duke of Savoy, upon which the success of the whole was then thought to depend. It was the 15th of July before the siege of Toulon was formed, and on the 17th Admiral Shovel landed, and assisted at a council of war, in which many demands were made on the fleet for the service of the army; and the admiral chearfully promised all that was in his power, which he accordingly performed. One hundred cannon were landed from the fleet for the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and shot, and a considerable number of seamen to serve as gunners; and cordage, nails and spikes, with all other things wanting for the camp, were supplied from the ships; so that affairs had a very good face till the 4th of August, when early in the morning the enemy making a vigorous sally, forced most, if not all the confederate troops out of their works, and took possession to the right, where they continued all day, and upon their going off destroyed them, drawing away eight or ten guns into the town; in which action there were killed and wounded on the side of the duke of Savoy above eight hundred men, among whom were the prince of Saxe Gotha, and some officers of distinction.

This attempt being made with such superiority of

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in that case, the dispute must have been over in a few hours. As it was, the duke of Savoy found the enemy as strong as himself, they had six thousand men in the town, and twenty-four thousand in the neighbourhood of it. The very moment the allies arrived, the generals differed, his royal highness sent orders to Prince Eugene, to possess himself of Mount St. Ann, which he refused to do, because, as I have observed, the emperor had ordered him not to expose his troops. Foul weather, too, prevented the fleet from landing artillery and ammunition; in all this time the enemy's forces were increasing, since the allies never had it in their power to invest Toulon.

numbers, it put the troops under great apprehensions, and the generals were of opinion, that it would not be proper to carry on the siege, since, while the duke of Savoy's army decreased, the enemy continually gathered strength, insomuch that, on the sixth of August, his royal highness desired the admiral would immediately embark the sick and wounded, and withdraw the cannon, in order to his raising the siege, which from this time was turned only to a cannonading and bombardment. His royal highness also informed him, that he proposed to decamp the 10th in the morning, and desired that the fleet might accompany the army as far as the Var; which being done, it was proposed to carry the duke, Prince Eugene, and the troops which could be spared for service in that country, on board the fleet to Spain: but since there was not any thing determined in this affair, the admiral soon after shaped his course down the Straits, as we shall see hereafter.*

The very day the army began to march, the fleet drew as near the place as possible, and five bomb-vessels, supported by the lightest frigates, and all the boats of the men of war, under the command of Rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort St. Lewis, and notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour from noon till five the next morning, and this with all the success that could be expected. By this means the land-army had time to quit their camp at La Villette, which they did in five columns in great safety, the enemy having something else to do than to pursue them: and as to any attempts afterwards, his royal highness put them pretty much out of their power, by marching, in two days, as far as in his approach to the place he had marched in six. This disastrous end had the famous siege of Toulon, from whence the confederates hoped, and the French feared so much.

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* Many reasons were assigned for the raising this siege; I shall mention only a few. It was said, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel disgusted the duke of Savoy, by detaining the payment of his subsidies, which were due on his passing the Var. I apprehend, however, this fact could not be true, since the admiral sailed the next day; and therefore, he must either have paid the money, or his royal highness would not have stirred a foot further. Bishop Burnet says, that the duke was afraid of getting to Toulon before the fleet, as in that case, he would have wanted provisions; all our Gazettes contradict this, and say, that if he had arrived there sooner, he must have taken the place, and all the French magazines. I think there are three substantial reasons which cannot be disputed, and which sufficiently account for the failing of this design. First, the want of twelve thousand Imperialists, which as I have said, were sent to Naples. Secondly, the disagreement between his royal highness, and Prince Eugene. Thirdly, the treacherous correspondence held by the Countess of Soissons, sister-in-law to the prince, and the duke's near relation, of which we have an account in the Lond. Gaz. N°. 4368.

To speak impartially, one may safely set the faults of both generals against each other. If the duke of Savoy had arrived a week sooner, he had carried his point: and if, on the other hand, Marshal Tesse had understood his business, as well as Marshal Catinat, his royal highness had returned without an army. After all, this business, though it miscarried in the main, proved of great service to the allies, and had many happy consequences, which perhaps ought to balance the expence of it; for besides the great damage the French sustained in their shipping; the burning and destroying of eight of their capital ships; the blowing up several magazines; the burning of above one hundred and sixty houses in Toulon, and the devastations committed in Provence by both armies, to the value of thirty millions of French livres; this enterprise, which struck a greater terror throughout all France, than had been known there during the whole reign of Louis XIV, brought these further advantages to the common cause, that it caused a great diversion of the enemies forces, whereby their army in Germany was weakened, the duke of Orleans's progress, after the battle of Almanza, retarded in Spain; the succouring of Naples prevented; and the conquests of the allies in Italy secured.

I must observe further, that as no prince in the world knew better than the duke of Savoy how to repair faults, and recover past miscarriages; so he gave on this occasion a noble proof of his high spirit, and great presence of mind, by investing the important fortress of Suza, which surrendered at discretion, on the 24th of September, and thereby gave him an open passage into Dauphine, at the same time that it enabled him to shut the French effectually out of his dominions.

Our admiral, not a little chagrined at the miscarriage of an expedition upon which he had set his heart, after having assigned Sir Thomas Dilkes a squadron of thirteen sail, for the Mediterranean service, sailed with the rest of the fleet from Gibraltar. On the 23d of October, he had ninety fathom water in the Soundings, in the afternoon he brought the fleet to and lay by. At six in the evening he made sail again, and stood away under his courses, whence it is presumed, he believed that he saw the light of Scilly; soon after which he made signals of danger, as several other ships did. Sir George Byng, who was then within less than half a mile to the windward of him, saw the breaches of the sea, and soon after the rocks, called the Bishop and his Clerks, upon which the admiral struck (though, according to some, Sir Cloudesley struck upon the Gilston rock, and not upon the Bishop and his Clerks), and in two minutes there was nothing more of him, or his ship seen.

Besides the Association, the Eagle, Captain Robert Hancock, of seventy guns, and the Romney, Captain William Coney, of fifty guns, perished: the Firebrand fire-ship was lost likewise; but Captain Piercy, who commanded her, and most of the company were saved; the Phœnix fire-ship, commanded by Captain Sansom, ran ashore, but was happily got off again. The Royal Anne, in which Sir George Byng bore his flag, was saved by the presence of mind of the officers and men, who in a minute's time set her topsails, when she was within a ship's length of the rocks. Lord Dursley, in the St. George, ran as great hazard, and was saved by mere accident; he struck on the same rocks with Sir Cloudesley, and that wave which beat out the admiral's lights, set his ship afloat. The day after this unhappy accident, some country fellows took up Sir Cloudesley Shovel's body, stripped him, and buried him in the sand; but the boats crew of the Salisbury, and the Antelope, having discovered it, dug him up again, put his corpse on board the Salisbury, by whom it was brought home to Plymouth, on the 28th of October, conveyed thence to London, and buried with great solemnity in Westminster-abbey, where a magnificent tomb was soon after erected to his memory.*

Rear-admiral Dilkes, with the squadron appointed for the Mediterranean service, sailed from Gibraltar on the 5th of October, in order to have escorted a convoy of troops, and provisions from Italy to Catalonia. But when he was some leagues westward of Barcelona, he received several expresses, desiring that he would enter that port, his Catholic Majesty having some matters of great consequence to communicate to him. The admiral accordingly repaired thither, and found that the principal point in view with his Catholic Majesty was, the reduction of the island of Sardinia, and the defence of the Catalonian coasts. The proposition made by his Majesty, not being consistent with the orders which Sir Thomas Dilkes had already received, he found himself under a necessity of waving, in the best manner he could, complying with what his Catholic Majesty desired, and since the care of the embarkation in Italy, was particularly recommended to him, by his instructions, he sailed from Barcelona on the second of November; but meeting with hard gales of wind, his squadron was separated, and could not join again before the 14th, when, being off Cape Corsica, he received a letter from the King of Spain, which contained an account of the loss of Lerida, and of the great danger of Tortosa and Terragond.

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* We shall have occasion to speak, hereafter, more at large of this unfortunate event, when we come to the memoirs of this admiral. There were nearly nine hundred persons on board the Association when she was lost, and not a soul escaped. The chaplain happened to go on board another ship that morning, in order to administer the sacrament to some dying people, and by this means his life was saved.

He arrived at Leghorn on the 19th of November, but met in the road with so terrible a storm, that almost every ship in his squadron suffered by it. At his arrival he demanded a salute of seventeen guns, which was refused him: upon this, he wrote to her Majesty's minister at the court of the grand duke, who complained of the disrespect. The secretary of state sent him soon after an answer, importing, that the castle of Leghorn never saluted any flag under the degree of a vice-admiral; and therefore Sir Thomas Dilkes, being a rear-admiral only, had no right to expect it; and as to the number of guns, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was content with eleven, and returned the same number. On the first of December, this dispute being adjusted, he was invited on shore, and died a few days afterwards of a fever, caused, as most people imagined, by an Italian dinner.

Upon his decease, the command devolved on Captain Jasper Hicks, who was the senior officer, and who sailed from Leghorn to the coast of Genoa, where embarking the troops at Vado, a little town to the westward of Savona, he escorted them safely to Spain, and then proceeded with his squadron to Lisbon, where he received orders to put it in the best condition he could, against the arrival of Sir John Leake, who was coming, with the title of admiral and commander in chief, from England. It may not be amiss to observe, that this year the enemy had a considerable force in the Mediterranean, which relieved their party in the island of Minorca, and did other services in those parts; but it was in a manner by stealth, and in the absence of our fleet, which, as the reader has seen, was then before Toulon. I shall conclude this subject, with observing, that how ill soever our affairs went in Spain, it was owing intirely to the disputes amongst our land-officers, and the mischiefs and miscarriages induced thereby; for, at sea, all things went well; our fleets and squadrons did all that could be expected from them, and it seemed to be our misfortune, that it was not in their power to do all that was to be done.

If it had, we should certainly have carried our point, and King Philip, notwithstanding all the great succours that he received from his grandfather, would have been obliged to quit his pretensions to Spain and the Indies.* But, as Bishop Burnet has shewn, the Austrian politics, at this juncture, fell in with the French; and yet we continued to serve that august house, not only at the expence of our interest, but, as it were in spite of their teeth.†

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* It is true, many, indeed most of the ancient nobility, adhered steadily to King Philip; but still, partly from the misunderstanding between the kingdoms and principalities which compose the Spanish monarchy, the feuds amongst the grandees, and the insinuations of some politicians, that as they became Bourbonites only to prevent the dismembering the dominions of their crown, they might turn Austrians again if they found this the only way of compassing their end; there was a strong party for King Charles III. who, by the assistance of the maritime powers, might have been placed and kept upon the throne, at least for a considerable time.

† As this is a very extraordinary assertion, I think myself obliged to cite Bishop Burnet's own words. "The court of France, finding they could not prevail on the King of Sweden, made a public application to the Pope for his mediating a peace. They offered the dominions in Italy to King Charles; to the States, a barrier in the Netherlands, and a compensation to the Duke of Savoy, for the waste made in his country; provided that, on those conditions, King Philip should keep Spain, and the West Indies. It was thought the court of Vienna wished this project might be entertained; but the other allies were so disgusted at it, that they

Before I return to the consideration of affairs nearer home, it will be proper to say something as to a secret treaty between the queen of Great Britain, and King Charles III. of Spain, because that was the real source of some very great events which afterwards happened, though there is very little mention made of this treaty in any of our histories. Mr. Stanhope, afterwards Earl Stanhope, and a great minister here, then managed her Majesty's affairs with King Charles. He, representing the zeal with which Great Britain had always supported his Catholic Majesty, and the immense expence she had been at, in order to establish him on the throne of his ancestors, prevailed on him, partly out of gratitude, and partly from a sense of the necessity he lay under of depending still on our protection, to conclude secretly a treaty of commerce, extremely favourable for the subjects of Britain, and which, in case that prince had been firmly established on the throne of Spain, must quickly have reimbursed the nation all she had laid out for the service of his Catholic Majesty.

By it, the English alone were entrusted with the Barbary trade, and were to import into all the maritime places in Spain, such kind of goods from thence as should appear to them proper, and without paying any higher duty, than if those goods were actually the growth and merchandise of Great Britain. The English merchants residing in Spain, were to give security for their duties, and were to pay them six months after the goods were landed and sold. A new book of rates was to be established by English and Spanish commissioners, which was not to be altered, and all merchandises that were omitted therein, were to pay seven *per cent. ad valorem*, according to the invoice. These advantages were in themselves very

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made no steps towards it. The court of Vienna did what they could to confound the designs of this campaign, for they ordered a detachment of twelve thousand men to march from the army into Lombardy, to the kingdom of Naples, &c."

great; but there were still greater secured by a separate article, in which it was mutually agreed, that the whole commerce of the Spanish West Indies should be carried on by a joint company of Spanish and British merchants: but, because this could not be immediately carried into execution, since Spain and the Indies were then in the hands of King Philip, it was further stipulated, as far as King Charles could consent, that her Britannic Majesty should, for the present, trade freely in all the ports of the West Indies, with ten ships, each of the burden of five hundred tons, under the escort of as many ships of war as her Majesty should think proper. France was to be for ever excluded from this commerce; and if, at any time afterwards, either of the contracting parties should depart from this agreement, then they were to forfeit all the advantages granted them by this treaty; which was signed the 10th of July, 1707, by the ministers of his Catholic Majesty, and Mr. Stanhope.*

The person who was entrusted to carry this important treaty to London, embarked, for the greater expedition, on board a small vessel bound for Genoa, which vessel was unluckily taken by a French privateer. The express, as is usual in such cases, threw his mail overboard; but the French captain promising a considerable reward, in case it could be recovered, a negro slave undertook to dive, and bring it up; which he performed, and it was immediately transmitted to the Marquis De Torci, the French king's minister for foreign affairs, who took care to send a copy of it, very speedily, to the Hague, where it made a great impression on the States-general, though they did not think fit to complain of it, but contented themselves with giving, as far as they were able, such a turn to the war, as might render it beneficial to themselves; and ever after assisted his Catholic Majesty but coolly, and no farther than they were obliged by treaty.

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* Some people have affected to doubt, whether there ever was such a treaty as this; but that was only at a time when there was a necessity of keeping it secret. Doctor Swift, who wrote the Conduct of the Allies, and who had as good lights as any writer of that time, says a little disingenuously: "Our trade with Spain was referred the same way; but this they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the house of Austria, and we have already made a treaty with King Charles. I have, indeed, heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope with that prince, for settling our commerce with Spain: but, whatever it were, there was another between us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it. I mean that of the barrier, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages proposed for Britain, are to be in common with Holland." Swift's Miscellanies, vol. iii. The observation I would make is, that the fact here laid down is by no means true; the barrier treaty, and this with Spain, could not be carried on together, since the one was signed the 10th of July, 1707, and the other on the 29th of October, 1709. As to the treaty itself, the inquisitive reader may, if he pleases, consult Lamberti, vol. iv.

It was afterwards converted into a reason for concluding a negociation, very favourable to their trade, with the Dutch, wherein, among other things, it was agreed that, whatever advantages we should obtain from Spain, the Dutch should enjoy the like; which treaty, if it was ever intended should be fairly executed, would have been very injurious to us, since, while we bore the whole burden of the war, it would have taken from us all hopes of recompence after a peace, for to share the Spanish trade with the Dutch by treaty, was very little better than agreeing to give it up to them in a short space of time.

This secret negociation had still farther consequences, since it gave the French an opportunity of suggesting, in a separate treaty, that article upon which the South Sea company is founded, and without the assistance of which, the intelligent part of mankind know very well the peace of Utrecht could never have been made, or the public debts brought into that situation in which we now find them. From these remarks on secret treaties, let us return now to the open operations of the war.

At the time that our fleets were every where superior to those of the enemy, our trade suffered in almost all parts of the world, by their small squadrons of men of war, as well as privateers. This, though it fell heavily upon us, was a plain proof of the weakness of the French power; since it never can be conceived that so haughty a prince as Louis XIV. would have stooped to this piratical way of carrying on the war, if he could have maintained it in a manner more honourable.

Sir Thomas Hardy, who had commanded a squadron in the Soundings a year before, and who had this year been employed on the coast of Ireland, to protect the East India fleet, was, in the beginning of the month of July, ordered to escort the Lisbon trade. Sir Thomas, pursuant to this order, sailed with the squadron under his command, and the outward-bound merchant-men. But being several times forced back by contrary winds, it was the 27th of August, 1707, before they got ninety-three leagues off the Lizard. About half an hour after two that afternoon, Captain Kirktown, in the Defiance, who was in the rear of the fleet, made the signal of seeing six sail, which being also seen about three, right astern from the mast-head of the Kent, Sir Thomas Hardy brought to for the rear, that were a great way off, and spread very much, to come up with the body of the fleet, consisting in all, of above two hundred sail.*

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* Sir Thomas's orders were dated the 2d of July, 1707, and by them he was directed to convoy all the outward-bound ships that were ready to sail, and see them safe about 120 leagues beyond the Land's end, and then to detach with them some men of war, under the command of Captain Kirktown; and himself, with the rest of the ships under his command, to cruize in such station, or stations, as should be thought, upon advising with the several captains with him, the most proper for meeting with, and protecting the homeward-bound Lisbon trade. This order further directed, that in case Sir Thomas Hardy should, in his passage from Spithead into the Soundings, get sight of the squadron of French ships (which had been lately seen off the Lizard), he was forthwith to detach Captain Kirktown from him on his voyage to Lisbon, as before

Between three and four o'clock, Sir Thomas Hardy perceiving that the six sail came up with him a-pace, notwithstanding it was little wind, and thereby judging they might be seekers, made the signal for the ships that were to continue with him, to chace to windward, and also chaced himself with them, both to prevent these six sail from taking some of the heavy sailers, and to try to come up with them, in case they were enemies. About five, the six sail were seen from the Kent's deck, making all the sail they could before the wind after the fleet. Soon after, they shortened sail and brought to, to speak with one another; whereupon, Sir Thomas Hardy believing them to be the French squadron mentioned in his orders, made the signal for the Lisbon fleet to part, whilst he, with his own squadron, continued to chace to windward the enemy, who had formed themselves in a line of battle. About six, the six sail bore away, and stood to the eastward of him, and he, with his squadron, tacked after them, and continued the chace till near seven o'clock; but then considering that it was almost night, that the six sail were then hauled to, and almost in the wind's eye, he saw no probability of coming up with, or keeping sight of them, it being little wind; and, therefore, he made the signal for the captains with him, to advise with them according to his orders. The result of this consultation, which was signed by fourteen captains, was, that Sir Thomas Hardy should leave off chace; and, left the enemy, supposed to be Guai Trouin's squadron, of whose strength he was informed by a letter from the Admiralty, dated the 8th of July, 1707, should pass by him in the night, and fall upon the trade, which could not be protected by the convoys

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directed; and he, with the rest of the ships under his command, to give chace to, and use his utmost endeavours to come up with, and take and destroy the said ships of the enemy; but if he found that he could not come up with them, he was to cruize in the Soundings, as before directed.

directed to be left with them, all the captains unanimously agreed, that it was for her Majesty's service, to bear away, and keep company with the Lisbon fleet, till they got 120 leagues at least from the Land's-end, according to his royal highness's order.

Sir Thomas Hardy complied with their advice, and saw all the fleet safe as far as he was directed. But, upon the complaint of some merchants, surmising that Sir Thomas Hardy had not chaced the six sail of French men of war, a court-martial was ordered to examine his conduct therein. This court, having sifted every circumstance of this affair, and heard the principal officers of the squadron upon their oaths, declared their opinion to be, that Sir Thomas Hardy had complied with his royal highness the lord high-admiral's orders, both with regard to the chacing the enemy, and also the protecting the trade; and accordingly, the court did acquit the said Sir Thomas Hardy, from the charge brought against him. There never was, perhaps, a more just sentence than this, or pronounced upon fuller evidence, and yet Sir Thomas Hardy had his conduct canvassed afterwards in every place where it was possible to call it in question; which, in spite of all the prejudices that prevailed at that time, turned very much to his advantage; for he not only escaped all censure, but continued to be employed, and acquired greater honour from the clearing up this charge, than he could have done by barely convoying the fleet, if no such accident had happened.*

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* The president of this council of war, was Sir John Leake, Knt. vice admiral of the white. It was held on board her Majesty's ship the Albemarle, October 10, 1707, in Portsmouth harbour; and the captains who, with the president signed his acquittal, were Hovendon Walker, Henry Lumley, Stephen Martin, T. Meads, Henry Gore, Charles Stewart, J. Paul. After this, the proceedings were laid before the Queen in council, where all was heard over again, but nothing appeared which could any way impeach the honour of Sir Thomas Hardy, or the officers who acquitted him; however, to oblige the merchants, the sentence was trans-

Towards the latter end of April, a large fleet of ships bound for Portugal, and the West Indies, and making in all a fleet of fifty-five sail, had a convoy appointed them, consisting of three men of war, the Royal Oak of 76 guns, Captain Baron Wylde, commander and commodore; the Grafton, of 70 guns, Captain Edward Acton; the Hampton-Court, of 70 guns, Captain George Clements. They sailed on the first of May, from the Downs, and fell in, on the second, with the Dunkirk squadron, commanded by M. Forbin, consisting of ten men of war, a frigate, and four privateers. The commodore drew five of the stoutest merchant-ships into the line, and fought bravely two hours and a half; but then, Captain Acton being killed, and his ship taken, and the Hampton-Court soon sharing the same fate, after having sunk the Salisbury, then in the hands of the French, by her side, the commodore thought proper to shift for himself as well as he could, which it was not very easy for him to do, as he was immediately attacked by three of the largest French men of war, and had eleven feet water in his hold. He disengaged himself, notwithstanding, and with great difficulty ran on shore near Dungenesse, from whence he soon got off, and brought his ship into the Downs. But while the men of war were thus engaged, the lightest of the enemies frigates, and their privateers, took one and twenty of our merchant-ships, and carried them, with the two men of war, into Dunkirk.

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mitted to the Admiralty, and there it was examined before his royal highness the lord high-admiral, and the following flag-officers, Admiral Churchill, Sir Stafford Fairborne, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Sir John Norris, and Sir James Wishart, who all approved the sentence of the court-martial, and gave their opinion under their hands. One would have imagined, that here the thing must have ended, but it did not; for as soon as the House of Commons sat, a motion was made, that Sir Thomas Hardy should attend; which he did, and gave so clear an account of his conduct, that the very members who had promised to support the complaint, desired it might be dismissed.

The most extraordinary thing that happened in this engagement, was the conduct of a midshipman, on board the Hampton-Court, who, while the enemy were employed in plundering the ship, conveyed Captain Clements, who was mortally wounded in the belly, into the long-boat, into which himself, and seven of the sailors crept through the port-holes, and concealed themselves, as well as they could. The enemy, in the mean time, driving with the flood, when they thought themselves at a sufficient distance, they fell to their oars, and had the good fortune to get into Rye harbour on the third of May. This affair made a very great noise, the merchants affirming, that there was time enough for the Admiralty to have acquainted Commodore Wylde, that the Dunkirk squadron was at sea; which, in all probability, might have enabled him to have escaped this misfortune.*

The French, according to their usual custom, magnified this success of theirs excessively; for they asserted, that besides the three men of war, there was a frigate of forty guns sent to strengthen the convoy, and that the fleet of merchant-men consisted of fourscore sail, of which they took twenty-two, and made 1200 prisoners. In Forbin's memoirs, we have some very extraordinary circumstances; such as, that he engaged the commodore himself, and killed him with a musket-shot through a port-hole, while he was giving his orders sword in hand, between decks, and afterwards made himself master of his ship; in which, as we have seen, there is not one word of truth: and all that can be said in excuse of the French relation is, that M. Forbin mistook the Hampton-Court for the commodore.

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* These facts depend upon the representations made by the merchants to parliament, in the ensuing session, and the answer to that representation, by the council of the lord high-admiral, in his royal highness's name. It is, I think, not a little improbable, that the Admiralty should have any treacherous design; but there is nothing more likely, than that some under officers of that board, might send copies of letters, orders for convoys, and such like papers, at the hazard of their necks; as the very same year Gregg did from the secretary's office, for which he suffered at Tyburn, and people very unjustly aspersed his master.

All the French relations, however, do us the justice to own, that our captains behaved extremely well, and that their victory cost them very dear. The French king, as soon as he had advice of this engagement, promoted M. Forbin to the rank of chef d'escadre, and gave him likewise the title of count, which he soon after merited by an extraordinary exploit, of which we are next to give an account.

The Russia fleet being this year very numerous, and very richly laden, Sir Benjamin Ayloffe, being then governor, and some other principal merchants, applied themselves to the Admiralty, in order to know what convoy they might expect, and particularly took notice of the apprehensions they were under, from the Dunkirk squadron; they were told, that they should have one fourth, and two fifth rates, with which they were very much dissatisfied. To make them in some measure easy, Sir William Whetstone had orders to convoy them beyond the islands of Shetland. Accordingly the fleet, consisting of about fifty merchant-men, sailed, and were actually convoyed, as far as his instructions directed, by Admiral Whetstone, who left them about three weeks before they were taken, to proceed on their voyage, under their proper convoy.

Some time after, Captain Haddock, who commanded, made a signal of his seeing eleven sail of the enemy's ships, which some of the fleet not regarding, but trusting to their good sailing, fifteen of them fell into the enemy's hand, off the island of Kildine, on the coast of Lapland, on the 11th of July; and the rest of the fleet, consisting of about forty ships, with their convoy of three men of war, by the favour of a hard gale, and a thick fog, got into Archangel.* The accounts we have of this affair are remarkably dark and embarrassed, which were calculated, probably, to justify the conduct of the prince's council, and Admiral Whetstone, who were much complained of; but the French accounts are clearer, though a little exaggerated.

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* One Captain Nenyon, commander of the ship Nenyon and

According to them, M. Forbin sailed again from Dunkirk, on the last of May, with the same squadron; and on the 11th of July, perceiving the English fleet, he immediately fell in with them, took nineteen sail; but being too far from any port of France, to think of carrying them in with safety, he first unloaded, and then burnt them. In the memoirs which go under his name, the matter is carried still farther; for he asserts, that he took twenty, of which he burnt fifteen: that, afterwards, he took four more, and when they got into the harbour of Kildine, he likewise took four, and burnt eighteen; but he agrees, that soon after, he destroyed all his prizes, and computes the value of the goods he preserved at 1,200,000 livres.

I suspect there is some confusion and mistake in these accounts, because I find, that, on the first of August following, he destroyed the Dutch homeward-bound fleet from Archangel; and as Father Daniel

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Benjamin, made oath before the House of Lords, that, on or about the 9th of July, 1707, his ship, with eleven or twelve others, were unfortunately taken in their voyage to Archangel, by the Chevalier Forbin's squadron, consisting of seven French ships of war; that his ship was the first taken, and he was immediately carried on board Forbin, who demanded of him, what number of ships for convoy the English, bound for Archangel, had with them. He answered, twelve sail; to which Forbin replied, he spake what was false; for there were only three ships of war, convoy to the English fleet: Forbin then declaring, that he knew Admiral Whetstone with his squadron, came no farther than the isle of Shetland, and then returned back again. This made a great noise, and the more so, because Admiral Whetstone was a man not beloved, and people were very desirous of fixing an imputation upon him, in order to get him laid aside; but it does not appear, that in this instance they carried their point.

computes the ships taken, and burnt, in both enterprises, at forty sail, I am inclined to think him nearer the truth than any of the rest. On the return of the Dunkirk squadron, Count Forbin received orders to join that which had been fitted out from Brest, under the command of M. Du Guai Trouin, which he accordingly did, on the eighth of October.

In the latter end of August, there was a great fleet ready for Lisbon, having on board provisions, military stores, and upwards of a thousand horses, for the king of Portugal's service. The merchants were extremely uneasy on the head of a convoy. They observed, that so many ships had been taken in performing the voyage to Portugal, that it not only affected the commerce, but the reputation of this kingdom, and obliged the Portuguese to send their orders for corn, even against their will, into Holland; for this reason, they earnestly insisted, that such a convoy might be given them, upon this occasion, as should effectually secure so great a fleet, for there were no fewer than one hundred and thirty merchantmen, and thereby recover our credit at Lisbon; and, in consequence of it, our corn-trade, which had been in a great measure diverted into other hands for the two last years.

These representations were by no means pleasing to the Admiralty, where Admiral Churchill, the duke of Marlborough's brother, commonly expressed the sense of his royal highness's council, and thereby drew on himself the merchants displeasure in the highest degree. He told them, upon this occasion, that they should be furnished with as speedy and as strong a convoy as could possibly be provided for them; yet it so fell out, that it was the twenty-fourth of September before this convoy was ready to sail. It consisted of the Cumberland, Captain Richard Edwards, of eighty guns; the Devonshire of the same force; the Royal Oak, of seventy-six; the Chester and Ruby, each of fifty guns. But, to say the truth, the Chester and Ruby were, properly speaking, the convoy; for the other three ships were only to see the ships fifty leagues beyond Scilly. The fleet did not sail till the ninth of October, and on the tenth, they fell in with the joint fleet of Count Forbin and M. Du Guai Trouin, off the Lizard.

The French were at least twelve sail of line-of-battle ships. The convoy disposed themselves in a line, and thereby gave the merchant ships an opportunity of escaping. M. Du Guai attacked the Cumberland, about twelve at noon, and with the assistance of two other ships, after an obstinate dispute, carried her; the Devonshire defended herself, for a long time against seven, and till evening against five French ships; but then, by some accident, which will remain for ever unknown, took fire, and blew up; two only, out of nine hundred men escaped; the Royal Oak made a vigorous resistance, and having set the French ship, which attacked her, and was commanded by M. De Bernois, on fire, got safe into Kingsale harbour; the Count De Forbin took the Chester, and Messieurs De Courserat and De Nesmond took the Ruby. As for the Lisbon fleet, they very prudently saved themselves during the engagement; but the French made a prodigious boasting of the men of war they had taken, though the dispute was so very unequal, and though in effect the convoy did all that could be expected from them, by securing the merchants at their own expence.

It is certain, that misfortunes like these are great enough in themselves; and, therefore, there is no need of exaggerating them, either at the time they happen, or in such works as are written on subjects which oblige their authors to transmit accounts of them to posterity. Yet something of this sort there seems to be, in the following passage from Bishop Burnet, which I transcribe in his own words, and at large, that I may not be suspected of partiality. "A convoy of five ships of the line of battle, was sent to

Portugal to guard a great fleet of merchant ships, and they were ordered to sail, as if it had been by concert, at a time when a squadron from Dunkirk had joined another from Brest, and lay in the way waiting for them. Some advertisements were brought to the Admiralty of this conjunction; but they were not believed. When the French set upon them, the convoy did their part very gallantly, though the enemy were three to one; one of the ships was blown up, three of them were taken, so that only one of them escaped, much shattered. But they had fought so long, that most of the merchantmen had time to get away, and sailed on, not being pursued, and so got safe to Lisbon."

In order to demonstrate the absolute injustice of this suggestion, I shall only observe, that it appears from all the French writers, that the junction of the Dunkirk and Brest squadrons happened in the afternoon of the 8th; that the Lisbon fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 9th, and that the engagement happened on the 10th, before noon; so that any intelligence could be given to the Admiralty, of the junction of the French squadrons, time enough to have prevented this unlucky accident, is a thing, that, to every candid reader, even at this distance of time, must appear perfectly incredible.

But, in the midst of so many discouragements, the nation was not altogether deprived of good fortune, even in respect to these little disputes; for at the very close of the year, Captain Haddock, in her Majesty's ship the Ludlow-Castle, got sight, off the long sand, of two frigates, which proved to be the Nightingale and Squirrel, formerly her Majesty's ships, but taken by the French, and now fitted out from Dunkirk as privateers, and each of them having as many men as the Ludlow-Castle. They both lay by till he came within gun-shot of them; but then made sail from him before the wind. At eleven at night, he came up with the Nightingale, and took her, and as soon as the captain of the Squirrel perceived it, he crowded sail and stood away. The captain of the Nightingale was one Thomas Smith, who had formerly commanded a sloop in her Majesty's service, and was broke at a court-martial for irregular practices: Captain Haddock, who died lately an admiral, and who commanded the squadron in the Mediterranean, immediately before the last war, carried in his prize to Hull, from whence he thought fit to send up all the English who were on board the Nightingale; *viz.* Captain Thomas Smith, who commanded the ship; Charles Aislaby, lieutenant; Mr. Harwood, who acted as a midshipman; an Irish priest, and an English sailor, who were immediately committed close prisoners for high-treason, and a prosecution, by the attorney-general, directed against them.*

About the same time, arrived the welcome news of our success in Newfoundland, where Captain John Underdown, commander of her Majesty's ship the Falkland, having received advice on the twenty-fifth of July, that the enemy had many ships employed in the fishery, in several harbours to the northward, our commanders of ships, merchants, and inhabitants, petitioned him to endeavour the destroying of them, and by that means to encourage and protect the British trade in those places. In pursuance of which representations, on the twenty-sixth of July, Captain Underdown set sail from St. John's, having taken Major Lloyd, who desired to be employed in the expedition, with twenty of his company, on board the Falkland, and twenty more of the same company, on board the Nonsuch. On the twenty-seventh, they came before Bonavis, and finding there no appearance of an enemy, the commodore ordered Captain Hughes upon that station, to sail with him.

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* The making examples of these sort of men, is a thing of absolute necessity in time of war; and I very much doubt, whether it is not a false kind of pity, ever to let them escape. This Smith, and one Captain Rigby, who fled from hence for an infamous crime, did us prodigious mischief, by their serving the French during that war; and yet, when Rigby was taken, he was suffered to get away.

On the second of August, they stood into the Bay of Blanche, till they came off Fleur-de-lis Harbour. Major Lloyd was immediately sent into the harbour in the commodore's pinnace, and the lieutenant of the Falkland, in the pinnace belonging to the Nonsuch, in order to make what discoveries they were able. They found there were several stages, and other necessaries for the fishery, to which they set fire, and afterwards they returned without any loss sustained, on board the men of war. By six the next morning they doubled the cape, and saw a ship, which, upon the brisk exchange of a few shot, struck; the commodore sent his boats aboard, and found her to be from St. Maloe's, carrying about three hundred and sixty tons, thirty guns, and one hundred and ten men, called the Duke of Orleans. In another arm of the bay, named Equillette, was another large ship; but the place being rocky, and the water shallow, it was impossible for either the Falkland or Nonsuch to come near her; whereupon, the Medway's prize was ordered to go as close in as she could, with safety; and, at the same time, Captain Carlton, Major Lloyd, and the lieutenant of the Falkland, in boats well manned and armed, were directed to land upon the island under which she lay. This was executed with so good effect, that the enemy, after having fired several broadsides, being no longer able to keep the deck, against our small shot from the shore, struck. This ship was of the force of twenty guns, and fourscore men, belonging also to St. Malo. Having here received information, that about three leagues to the northward, in La Couche, there were two ships, one of thirty-two guns, and the other of twenty-six, both of St. Malo; the commodore gave Captain Hughes directions to burn the last prize, and afterwards to join him at La Couche, himself in the Falkland, with the Nonsuch, making the best of their way thither.

The fifth, in the afternoon, they came into La Couche, where they found the two ships in readiness for sailing. The enemy fired several broadsides at them, which as soon as our men of war returned, they set their ships on fire, and left them, going over to the next harbour, called Carouse, in which, the commodore had received intelligence, that there were four ships. He immediately weighed, and stood for that harbour, and about eight o'clock at night was joined by the Medway's prize; but there being very little wind at S. W. and much difficulty in getting out, it was about six the next morning before he got off the harbour's mouth. The commodore sent in his boat, but found the enemy had escaped, having, by the advantage of little wind, and the great number of men and boats, cut and towed out. The British ships stood to the northward, and saw several vessels, to which they gave chace ; about five in the afternoon they came off the harbour of St. Julian, where they discovered a ship, and having lost sight of the vessels they had pursued, stood in for the harbour, and came to an anchor in twenty-six fathom water. The place where the ship was hauled in, being very narrow and shoally, the commodore ordered the Medway's prize to go as near as possibly she could. The enemy fired two guns, but it was not thought fit to attack her till the morning. Accordingly, on the sixth of August, at four of the clock, Captain Carleton, Major Lloyd, and Lieutenant Eagle went in, with all their boats well manned and armed, and immediately landing, drove the enemy from their posts, who were likewise on shore. Our men took their posts, and went aboard their ship, where they found the enemy had laid several trains of powder, in order to blow her up; which being seasonably discovered, she was preserved, and by noon they towed her out to sea. But the British pilots being unacquainted with the coast, and the commodore thinking it not proper to go farther to the northward, it was resolved to sail back to Carouse, and there remain till they were joined by the Duke of Orleans prize, which was left at Grand Canarie, with a lieutenant and sixty men.

In the way to Carouse, it was thought fit to look into Petit Maistre, where they destroyed great numbers of boats and stages, with vast quantities of fish and oil; about seven at night, they came to an anchor in Carouse harbour, and moored. On the 12th and 13th, it blew a hard gale at S. W. Having destroyed the fishery at Petit Maistre, and the duke of Orleans prize being come to La Couche, on the 14th, by four in the morning, they weighed and stood out to sea, taking her with them, and steered for St, John's harbour, where the Falkland and Nonsuch, with the two prizes, arrived the 17th of the same month, having before given the Medway's prize orders to sail to Trinity.*

We ought now, according to the method that has been generally observed, to speak of the proceedings in the West Indies; but, as what was done there this year, is so strictly connected with what happened in the following, that it is scarcely possible to divide them, without destroying the perspicuity of both relations; I shall defer saying any thing of the events that fell out in that part of the world, till I come to speak of them in their proper place; that is, after having accounted for the naval proceedings in the succeeding year. I the rather incline to make this small breach in my usual method, because I am under a necessity of speaking more largely than in other places, of what was done in parliament this year, in reference to the navy, for this weighty reason; *viz.* that the strict enquiries made by both houses into matters of such consequence, not only demonstrate the vigour of our constitution at that time, but afford, perhaps, the very best precedents for reviving such enquiries, that are to be met with in our history.

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* The damage the enemy received, was as follows. Two ships taken, one of thirty guns, and 110 men; and another of twenty guns, and 100 men; one ship taken and burnt, of twenty guns, and eighty men. Two ships burnt by the enemy, one of 32, and another of 26 guns; 228 fishing boats burnt; 470 boats and shallops, that were not employed in the fishery this season, burnt; 23 stages burnt; 23 train vats burnt; 77,280 quintals of fish destroyed; 1568 hogsheads of train oil destroyed.

The first parliament of Great Britain, met upon the 23d of October, when the eyes, not only of this kingdom, but of all Europe, were fixed upon them. The earliest thing they did was, to make choice of John Smith, Esq. for their speaker: and the next, in the House of Commons was, to vote an address of thanks to the queen, for her most gracious speech made to them on the sixth of November, to which day they had adjourned. In the House of Lords, it went otherwise; instead of their usual address, their lordships proceeded to a direct consideration of the state of the kingdom, in which very warm debates arose, in regard to the navy especially. As to this, it was affirmed, " That the lord high admiral's name was abused by such as were entrusted with the management of his authority: that the council of his royal highness studied nothing but how to render their places profitable to themselves and their creatures, though at the expence of the nation; that it was visible, their own haughtiness, together with the treachery, corruption, and carelessness of their dependants were the true sources of those mischiefs which befel our merchants, and discredited the most glorious reign in the British annals. But, though reason and experience ought to have convinced these men of their own incapacity, yet they had, with a brutish obstinacy, persisted in the pursuit of their own measures, haughtily rejecting the advice of the merchants, when offered in time, and saucily contemning their complaints, when sufferers by the very errors they had predicted."

This produced the appointing of a committee, in which this matter might be resumed, upon the 19th of December, at which her Majesty was present. The sheriffs of London, who were Benjamin Green, Esq. and Sir Charles Peers, Knt. presented a petition, signed by two hundred of the most eminent merchants of the city of London, setting forth the great losses they had lately sustained at sea, for want of convoys and cruisers; and praying, that some remedy might be speedily applied, that the trade of the nation might not be entirely destroyed.

The house went as heartily into this matter as the sufferers could desire, and appointed the 26th to hear the merchants further, in a grand committee, where they were permitted to make a regular charge, and encouraged to exhibit their evidence. In the course of this enquiry, it fully appeared to their lordships, that many ships of war were not fitted out to sea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay. That convoys had been often flatly denied the merchants, and that, when they were promised, they were so long delayed, that the merchants lost their markets, were put to great charges, and, where they had perishable goods, suffered great damage in them. The cruisers were not ordered to proper stations in the channel; and, when convoys were appointed, and ready to put to sea, they had not their sailing orders sent them till the enemies privateer squadrons were laid in their way, and with superior force prepared to fall on them; which had often happened.

Many advertisements, by which these misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the Admiralty; which had not only been neglected by them, but those who offered them, had been ill-treated for doing so. To carry these things as far as possible, they caused an exact report to be drawn of their proceedings; sent it to the Admiralty-office; received the best answer that could be given from thence; heard the merchants by way of reply to this, digested the whole into a second report, and, together with an address suitable to a matter of such mighty consequence, laid it before her Majesty, on the first of March, 1707, and expressed themselves thereupon, in terms it would be extremely injurious to deprive the reader of the pleasure of reading, considering the strict connection it has with the subject of this work, the true spirit of patriotism that appears therein, and the excellent example afforded thereby; and, therefore, I have placed it at the bottom of the page.*

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* I shall cite here only their lordships' conclusion, after setting forth the grievances complained of by the merchants, the answer by the Admiralty, and the merchants' replication.

"May it please your Majesty,

"We having thus performed, what we take ourselves to be indispensably obliged to, cannot doubt but it will be graciously accepted by your Majesty, as coming from most dutiful subjects, who sincerely wish they may never have occasion hereafter to make addresses to your Majesty, but to congratulate your successes, or to return humble acknowledgments for the blessings of your reign.

"We beseech your Majesty to believe, that none of your subjects do exceed us in true respect to his royal highness the lord high admiral. His great personal virtues require it, and his near relation to your Majesty makes it our duty. And as we do not mean that any thing in this address should in the least reflect upon him, so we are very well assured, his royal highness will never suffer other persons to protect themselves under his name, from a just pursuit of such faults or neglects, as immediately tend to the ruin of trade, and the destruction of Britain.

"There cannot be a plainer proof, that some persons employed by the lord high admiral, have made the worst use imaginable of the trust he honours them with, than in their presuming to lay such an answer before the House of Lords in his name.

"For, not to take notice of the many things which in the second report have been already laid before your Majesty, throughout the whole paper, there is not the least hopes given, that, for the future, any better care shall be taken of the trade; on the contrary, the whole turn of the answer seems to be intended for exposing the complaints of the merchants, rather than pitying their losses. We are sure, nothing can be more remote from the goodness and

Her Majesty received this address very graciously, and promised to pay all the regard thereto, that the nature of the thing, and the respect due to the advice of the hereditary council of her kingdoms deserved.

The House of Commons, also, went into a grand committee on the affairs of the navy, of which Sir Richard Onslow was chairman; they heard with great attention all the merchants had to say, and carefully examined all the evidence they could produce; and though there were some people who endeavoured to stop the mouths of the merchants, when they ran out into invidious characters of those officers by whom they thought themselves wronged, yet the majority of the house were inclined to hear their sentiments, and encouraged them to go on. Both lords and commons concurred in carrying to the throne, such complaints as appeared to be well-founded; and, with this view, their lordships, on the 7th of February, addressed the queen to lay aside Captain Ker,* and,

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compassion of the lord high admiral's temper, and the tender regard he has always shewn for your Majesty's subjects.

"May it please your Majesty,

"It is a most undoubted maxim, that the honour, security, and wealth of this kingdom, does depend upon the protection and encouragement of trade, and the improving, and right managing its naval strength. Other nations, who were formerly great and powerful at sea, have, by negligence and mismanagement, lost their trade, and have seen their maritime power entirely ruined. Therefore, we do, in the most earnest manner, beseech your Majesty, that the sea affairs may always be your first, and most peculiar care. We humbly hope, that it shall be your Majesty's chief and constant instruction to all who shall have the honour to be employed in your councils, and in the administration of affairs, that they be continually intent and watchful in what concerns the trade and fleet: and that every one of them may be made to know, it is his particular charge, to take care that the seamen be encouraged, the trade protected, discipline restored, and a new spirit and vigour put into the whole administration of the navy."

* The House of Lords, in their address, inform her Majesty, that a complaint had been lodged before them, by Mr. Thomas Wood, in behalf of himself, and divers other Jamaica merchants, against Captain William Ker, late commander of a squadron of her

on the 26th of the same month, the House of Com-

Majesty's ships at that island, for refusing to grant convoys for their ships to the Spanish coast of America; and in particular, that the said Mr. Thomas Wood had offered to the said Captain Ker, the sum of six hundred pounds as a gratuity, if he would order one of her Majesty's men of war, under his command, to go as convoy to the Neptune sloop, and Martha galley, loaden with woollen and other goods of her Majesty's subjects. That the said Captain Ker, at that time, seemed pleased with the proposal, and said the Windsor should be the ship; and ordered Mr. Wood to make what dispatch he could, in getting the galley and sloop ready. On which encouragement, he got them ready to sail, and bought three hundred negroes to put on board them, and then acquainted Captain Ker therewith, and with the great charge he was at in maintaining the negroes, and his fear of sickness. Captain Ker then said, he feared he could not spare a man of war; but the next day, sent Mr. Tudor Trevor, captain of the Windsor, to acquaint Mr. Wood, that Captain Ker said, he thought Mr. Wood could not have offered less than two thousand, or, at least, fifteen hundred pounds. Whereupon, Mr. Wood declared, the sum was so great, that the trade could not bear it, and so the sloop and galley proceeded on the voyage without convoy; and, in their return, the sloop, loaded with great wealth, being pursued by French privateers, and having no convoy, and crowding too much sail to get from the enemy, was unhappily overset and lost. The said Mr. Thomas Wood, also, made another complaint, that, upon a further application to the said Mr. Ker, for a convoy for three sloops, bound for the said Spanish coasts, he promised to give the Experiment man of war, commanded by Captain Bowler, as a convoy: for which the said Mr. Wood agreed to give eight hundred pounds, four hundred pounds part whereof, was paid the said Bowler, and the other four hundred pounds was made payable by note to one Mr. Herbert, for the use of Mr. Ker, which note was sent in a letter to Mr. Ker, and by him put into Mr. Herbert's hands. And, besides that, as a farther encouragement for allowing the said convoy, Mr. Ker had an adventure of fifteen hundred pounds in the said sloops, without advancing any money. To this complaint, Mr. Ker put in his answer, and both parties were fully heard by themselves, and their witnesses; and, upon the whole matter, the house came to this following resolution: "That the said complaint of the said Mr. Wood, against the said Captain Ker, as well in relation to the Neptune and Martha galley, as also in relation to the other three sloops, that went under the convoy of the Experiment man of war, hath been fully made out, and proved, to the satisfaction of this house."

The queen gave only a general answer to this address, but did not say positively that she would comply with it.

mons presented an address of the same nature, against the same person.*

These warm proceedings had a proper effect; they convinced such as sat at the Admiralty-board, that it was dangerous to treat British merchants with contempt; as, on the other hand, it taught the officers to know, that having friends at the board, or being tried, where no evidence could reach them, would not always secure them from punishment.† On the complaint of the merchants, however, against Sir Thomas Hardy, though prosecuted with great heat, both houses concurred to vindicate him, which was sufficient to encourage the officers of the navy to do their duty; since, where they could prove they had done this, it was most clear they ran no hazard; but, if pursued by clamour, were sure to come off with reputation.*

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* On the 26th of February, upon the report of Sir Richard Onslow, from the committee of the whole house, the commons came to three resolutions against Commodore Ker; to which they added a fourth: *viz.* "That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, laying before her the said resolutions, and humbly desiring, that her Majesty will be pleased not to employ the said Captain Ker in her Majesty's service, for the future." This address having been presented to the queen, ten days after, her Majesty declared that she would comply with it.

† Upon a fair computation, made about this time, of the loss of ships at sea, since the beginning of this war, it was found, that the loss the French had sustained in their shipping, far exceeded that of Great Britain, since we had only thirty men of war taken, or destroyed, and one thousand one hundred forty-six merchant ships taken, of which three hundred were re-taken. Whereas, we had either taken or destroyed, eighty of their ships of war, and taken or burnt one thousand three hundred forty-six of their merchantmen, including those destroyed in the West Indies. By way of supplement to this list, it may not be amiss to take notice, that it appeared, from the lord high admiral's answer to the report of the House of Peers, that there were one hundred seventy-five of the enemy's privateers taken, as also the re-captures by her Majesty's ships of war, from the fourth of May, 1702, to the 1st of December, 1707, were one hundred twenty-eight; which amounted, by appraisement, to above the sum of 82,975*l.* and the re-captures, by privateers, within that time, 38,055*l.* both which sums amount to 121,030*l.* exclusive of customs.

As the season for action was now coming on, the lord high admiral made the following promotions; Sir John Leake was declared admiral of the white, and admiral and commander-in-chief of her Majesty's fleet; Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue; Sir John Jennings, vice-admiral of the red; Sir John Norris, vice-admiral of the white; the Lord Dursley, vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Edward Whitaker, rear-admiral of the red; and John Baker, Esq. rear-admiral of the white. Some alterations were likewise made in his royal highness's council.

An act passed for regulating convoys, and cruisers; and a further term of fourteen years and a half was granted to the East India Company, in consideration of their advancing 1,200,000*l.* for the public service, there being granted in the whole, for the year 1708, no less than *5,933,657l. 17s. 4d.* a supply unheard of in former times. Of this, upwards of 2,300,000*l*, were intended for the service of the fleet, and great things were expected, especially, since all parts of the island seemed heartily united in one interest; and the carrying on the war, humbling France, and exalting the house of Austria, were every where considered as the great objects of our care; as being essentially necessary to the welfare of the nation.

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* Upon a complaint to the House of Lords, of a master of a Canary ship, that Sir Thomas Hardy had refused to convoy him from Plymouth, their lordships ordered Sir Thomas to attend the house, who directed him to attend the committee. The latter took occasion to examine, likewise, the papers relating to his trial; and, after they had read them, the next day, Sir Thomas Hardy, with two merchants, and the master of the Canary ship, were called in before their lordships; Sir Thomas having shewed his orders, to warrant his refusal of convoy, he was ordered to withdraw; and soon after, Captain Philips, deputy usher of the black rod, came out to Sir Thomas, and told him, that their lordships found he had fully justified himself, and done his duty in every respect; and, therefore, that he was discharged from any further attendance upon that committee.

But, before our projects were thoroughly adjusted, the French actually played off one of theirs; which put us into great confusion, and had like to have had much worse consequences. This was, the attempt upon Scotland, in favour of the Chevalier De St. George; which was the *Nomme de Guerre,* they were pleased to give the person, whom the queen soon after distinguished by the name of the Pretender. The design is said to have been carried on with great secrecy; but this must be understood only of the French court; for it was sufficiently known, and talked of in Scotland, long before it was undertaken. I do not think, that so idle an expedition demands, in a work of this nature, a very critical explanation, and, therefore, I shall content myself with saying, that it ought to be reckoned amongst the number of those affronts, of which the French have never been sparing to this nation, and was chiefly designed to shew how much, in spite of all the power of the allies, Louis XIV. was able to alarm and distract us.

The troops intended for this attempt, were about eleven or twelve battalions, under the command of the Marquis De Gace, afterwards styled the Marshal De Matignon. The fleet consisted of but eight men of war, which was commanded by the Count De Forbin, who is said to have disliked the design, because, very probably, he knew the bottom of it; for it is very certain, the French never intended to land, and refused the chevalier to set him on shore, though he would have gone with his own servants. The true scheme of the French king was, to create a diversion, and, if possible, raise a rebellion in Scotland, that, by means of trials and executions, the queen and her ministry might be sufficiently embarrassed at home, and have the less leisure to prosecute their views abroad; and, from these motives, he ordered his ministers in all foreign courts to talk in very magnificent terms of the succours he gave to the king of England, as he thought fit to call him, that, on the rebound, they might make the louder noise in Britain, and induce us to believe our danger the greater, and more inevitable.

In this respect, the French politics had their effect; for, on General Cadogan's sending over an express, disclosing the whole design, the queen, by Mr. Secretary Boyle, acquainted the House of Commons therewith, on the fourth of March, and received a very loyal address from them, as well as from the lords; but the apprehensions expressed here, and in Holland, had such an effect upon the monied interest, that it occasioned a prodigious run upon the bank, and disturbed our foreign remittances so much, that all thinking people were at this time convinced of the great risk a nation runs, that engages in a foreign war, while heavily loaded with debts at home. Our public securities fell surprisingly, and things would have fallen into downright confusion, if the fright had not been quickly over.

This was owing to the care of the Admiralty, who, with remarkable diligence, fitted out a fleet of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George Byng and Lord Dursley sailed for the French coast, on the twenty-seventh of February, without diminishing the convoy of the Lisbon fleet; which, when we had time to consider it, appeared prodigious, and sufficiently convinced the French, that a real invasion was not at all their business.* On Sir George

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* The run upon the bank so much alarmed the exchequer, that all ways and means possible were concerted, to put an immediate stop to it; in order to which, the lord high-treasurer not only allowed six, instead of three *per cent.* for all the money circulating by their bills, but also supplied them with large sums of money out of his private fortune, as the dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, Somerset, and other noblemen also did; which, with the calling in of twenty *per cent.* upon their capital, brought all things right again sooner than could have been expected. On the twentieth of March the House of Commons came to a resolution,

Byng's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aside their embarkation; but, upon express orders from court, were obliged to resume it, and on the sixth of March actually sailed out of Dunkirk; but being taken short by contrary winds, came to an anchor till the eighth, and then continued their voyage for Scotland.

Sir George Byng pursued them with a fleet of forty ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. He afterwards detached Rear-admiral Baker, with a small squadron, to convoy the troops that were sent from Ostend, and prosecuted his expedition with the rest. On the thirteenth of March, the French were discovered in the Frith of Edinburgh, where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered a N. E. course, as if they intended to have gone to St. Andrews. Sir George Byng followed them, and took the Salisbury, an English prize, then in their service, with several persons of quality on board; finding it was altogether impossible to come up with the enemy, he returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued till he received advice of Count Forbin's getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, pursuant to the orders he received from the ministry, from whence he soon came to London, where he was most graciously received by the queen his sovereign, and by his royal highness Prince George of Denmark!

One would have imagined, that this apparent success must have satisfied every body; and that, after defeating so extraordinary a scheme, as at that time this was allowed to be, and restoring public credit, as it were, in an instant, there should have been an universal tribute of applause paid to the admiral, by all degrees of people. Yet, this was so far from falling

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that whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy, or lessen the public credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, and was an enemy to her Majesty and her kingdoms.

out, that Sir George Byng had scarce set his foot in London before it was whispered, that the parliament would inquire into his conduct; which took rise from a very foolish persuasion, that having once had sight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleased, have taken every ship as well as the Salisbury.

The truth of the matter was, that the French having amused the Jacobites in Scotland, with a proposal about besieging the castle of Edinburgh, Sir George Byng was particularly instructed to use all means for peventing that, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and, by doing it, answered the principal end for which he was sent. But the same malicious people, who first propagated this story, invented also another; *viz.* that Sir George was hindered from taking the French fleet, by his ships being foul; which actually produced an inquiry in the House of Commons, and an address to the queen, to direct, that an account might be laid before them of the number of ships that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the same were cleaned. That done, they resolved that the thanks of the house should be given to the prince, as lord high admiral, for his great care in expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships, whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng was enabled to prevent the intended invasion.

This was a very wise and well-concerted measure, since it fully satisfied the world of the falsehood of those reports, and at the same time gave great satisfaction to the queen, and her royal consort, the prince of Denmark, who had both testified an unusual concern in relation to the report of the House of Lords, which they conceived affected his royal highness's character, as lord high-admiral; and therefore, to give this message of thanks a better grace, and make it more acceptable, the utmost care was taken in the choice of those who were appointed to carry it.

Thus ended this affair of the invasion, which made so much noise at that time, and which has been handed down in so many different lights to posterity. An affair, indeed, which speaks the true policy of France, and shews how artfully she can serve her own ends, and with how great readiness she betrays, and gives up to destruction, such as are simple enough to trust her. But, through the wisdom of the British ministry, joined to the cunning of some of the nobility of Scotland, who were taken into custody upon this occasion, and who, it is generally thought, gave such lights as enabled the government to take these effectual methods; the latter part of the French scheme proved as abortive as the first; all the prisoners being soon after set at liberty, and every thing being done to satisfy and quiet the people of that country.

The great point that the ministry had in view this year, was, to put the affairs of his Catholic Majesty into better order, and to repair, as far as it was possible, the many unlucky consequences of the fatal battle of Almanza. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was so early at sea, that on the twenty-seventh of March he arrived at Lisbon; having, in his way thither, seen the merchant ships bound to Virginia and the Canaries, with their respective convoys, well into the sea, and taken care for the security of others designed to the ports of Portugal. Here he found the ships that had been left with Captain Hicks, which were fourteen of the third rate, besides small frigates, and bomb-vessels; and at a council of war it was resolved, that, as soon as the transports were ready to receive the horse on board, the fleet should proceed to Vado, and that such of the ships of war as could not be got ready by that time, should follow to Barcelona, where there would be orders left how they should farther proceed. But, as for the Dutch ships, they were all separated in bad weather, between England and Lisbon. It was also determined, at the desire of the king of Portugal, to appoint the Warspight, Rupert, and Triton, to cruize of the Tercera, or Azores islands, for the security of his Majesty's fleet expected from Brazil; nor was there any care omitted to guard the Straits' mouth lest otherwise our trade should suffer by the enemy's cruisers or privateers. The procuring transport ships, and putting them in a condition for receiving the horse, took up a considerable time; but, on the twenty-third of April, the admiral was ready to sail with as many as could carry fifteen hundred, with one second rate, twelve third rates, two fourths, a fire-ship, bomb-vessels, &c. together with twelve ships of the line of battle of the States General; and, upon advice from Colonel Elliot, governor of Gibraltar, and from other hands, that some French ships of war were seen cruising off the Straits' mouth; one third, and one fourth rate, and another of the Dutch ships of war, were appointed to strengthen those before ordered to ply up and down in that station.

The admiral sailed from the river of Lisbon, on the twenty-eighth of April, and, in his passage up the Straits, he, on the eleventh of May, being about twelve leagues from Alicant, had sight of several vessels, which he took for fishing-boats. But he had a better account of them the next day, for having detached before some light frigates from Barcelona, to give notice of the approach of his fleet, one of them had the good luck to take a French frigate of twenty-four guns, and thereby obtained an account of the convoy that was expected. Upon this, the captains of our frigates made the necessary dispositions for intercepting them. The next day, the French convoy appeared in sight, consisting of three men of war, one of forty-four, another of forty, and the third of thirty-two guns, with ninety settees and tartanes laden with wheat, barley, and oil, for the use of the duke of Orleans' army, and bound for Peniscola, near the mouth of the Ebro. The British frigates bore down immediately upon the enemy's men of war, and these abandoning their barks, and endeavouring to make their escape, came in view of the confederate fleet, which, seeing seven men of war, concluded they were enemies, and thereupon the admiral made a signal to give them chace. But as the great ships could not follow them near the coast, the French made their escape in the night. The vice-admiral of the white, who sailed on the left with his division, perceiving the barks near the coast, sent his long-boats and small ships, and took several of them. The next morning they saw some of them dispersed, which were likewise secured by the long-boats: and some barks of Catalonia coming out of their harbours at the same time, to have a share in the booty; sixty-nine of them were taken, and the rest dispersed.*

On the fifteenth of May, the admiral arrived at Barcelona, where he was joined by several of our ships, and complimented by the king of Spain, on his late success; his Catholic Majesty took this opportunity of desiring a squadron might be left under his direction at Barcelona, while the fleet crossed to Italy, to bring over the reinforcements that he expected, and the queen of Spain, who, it was thought, was, by this time, arrived at Genoa. He signified also his desire, that the provisions lately taken might be laid up in his magazines, which were but indifferently furnished; that care might be taken for reducing Sardinia as soon as possible, and that, whenever the service would permit, such dispositions might be made, as would contribute to the conquest of Sicily, which kingdom he judged might be recovered by the forces that were then under Count Daun, and the care of the then viceroy of Naples.

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* This might have proved an affair very considerable in its consequences, if the duke of Orleans, who commanded the army of King Philip, had not been one of the first generals of the age; but he foreseeing that this accident might happen, had provided against it, by ordering a great quantity of oats and beans which had been laid up for the use of the cavalry, to be employed in making bread, till his army could be better supplied. This capture, however, proved of the utmost service to King Charles, as it enabled his army, after it was once formed, to take the field some weeks sooner than it could otherwise have done; and the readiness with which the admiral caused the cargoes of his prizes to be sent to the king's magazines, sufficiently proves the public spirit of Sir John Leake, and the great concern he had for this service.

As to the provisions, the admiral ordered that they should be disposed of, as the king required; but with respect to his other demands, the admiral thought it necessary to call a council of war, to determine which should be executed, since it appeared absolutely impracticable to undertake them all. At this council were present, besides himself, Sir John Norris, Sir Edward Whitaker, Sir Thomas Hardy, and two of the English captains; as also Baron Wassenaer, and two of the Dutch. It was there, after mature deliberation, determined to leave with the king two third rates, one fourth, and one fifth rate of ours, and two ships of the States-General, and with the rest of the fleet, to proceed forthwith to the port of Vado, in order to the transporting the horse and foot from thence to Barcelona, as also her Majesty the queen of Spain if she should be ready when the fleet arrived.

The admiral sailed in pursuance of this resolution, and on the 29th of May safely anchored before Vado; but finding nothing in readiness, he sent Sir Thomas Hardy to wait on the queen of Spain at Milan, where he arrived the 18th of June, and was received with all possible marks of respect and esteem. Upon his pressing instances, her Majesty consented to set out immediately for Genoa, where she arrived on the first of July, embarked on the second, and arrived happily at Mataro on the 14th.*

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* As it was certainly known, that King Philip's consort contributed not a little to fix the Spaniards firmly to the king her hus-

After having conducted the queen, with all imaginable respect to Barcelona, the admiral thought next of the reduction of Sardinia, which he performed almost as soon as he arrived. He appeared before Cagliari on the first of August, and having summoned it, the marquis of Jamaica, who commanded there for King Philip, declared his resolution of holding out to the last extremity. Upon this, the admiral ordered the place to be bombarded all that night, and the next morning Major-general Wills landed about 1800 men, and made the necessary dispositions for attacking the city; but the Spanish governor, believing himself now at the last extremity, saved them any further trouble by coming to a speedy capitulation. The reduction of this island was of equal advantage to the common cause, and to that of King Charles; for it gave great security to our navigation, and enabled his Catholic Majesty to supply himself from thence, as often as he had occasion, with corn and other provisions.*

The admiral had scarcely completed the conquest of this island, before his assistance was required for

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band's interest; it was resolved the year before, to fix upon a wife for King Charles, and, accordingly, the Princess Elizabeth Christiana of Wolfenbuttle was chosen. She lived many years after her husband, and was mother to the empress queen of Hungary. Before her marriage, her Imperial Majesty was a Protestant, nor did she change her religion, till she had advised with the Lutheran clergy, who declared, that she might hope for salvation in the church of Rome.

* This island lies to the north of Corsica, from which it is divided by a small and shallow arm of the sea. It has on the east, the sea of Sicily; on the west, the Mediterranean; on the south, the coast of Africa from which it is not distant above fifty leagues. It is divided into two parts by the rivers Credo and Lirso, and is extremely fruitful in corn, oil, honey, and all the necessaries of life. As soon as the English fleet appeared, the clergy declared unanimously for King Charles; and the admiral had the satisfaction of seeing the new viceroy he carried over, established in the peaceable possession of his government in the space of a week, and without the loss of so much as a man. The reader will find the capitulations at large, in the Complete Hist. of Europe, for 1708.

the reducing another; and therefore sailing from Cagliari the 18th of August, he arrived before Port Mahon on the 25th; but not finding Lieutenant-general Stanhope, afterwards Earl Stanhope, and Secretary of State, he sent two ships of the third rate to Majorca, to hasten the embarkation of those which were to be furnished from that island. These returned the 1st of September with some settees laden with military stores for the army; nor was it more than two days, before the Milford, and three Dutch ships of war, arrived with the lieutenant-general, being followed by five third rates, convoy to fifteen transports, that had on board them the land forces. Whereupon a council of war was held of the sea officers, and it was resolved, that the ships which were to return to Great Britain, should leave behind them, to assist in the attempt, all the marines, above the middle complement of each of them, and that the squadron of English and Dutch, designed to be continued abroad with Sir Edward Whitaker, should remain at Port Mahon, to assist with their marines and seamen in the reduction of that place, so long as the lieutenant-general should desire it; due regard being had to the season of the year, the time their provisions might last, and the transporting from Naples to Barcelona, four thousand of the emperor's troops for the service of his Catholic Majesty. It was also resolved, that the English ships should spare the forces as much bread as they could, and both they and the Dutch all their cannon-shot, except what might be necessary for their own defence; and that, when every thing should be landed, which was necessary for the siege, the admiral should proceed to England, with one second rate, and six thirds of ours, and eight Dutch ships of the line; but some time after this, he sent home two English and two Dutch ships of war, with the empty transports of both nations, in order to their being discharged. The siege was carried on with such vigour, that, by the end of October, the place surrendered, and the garrison, consisting of about a thousand men, marched out, and were afterwards transported on board our vessels, some to France, and others to Spain, according to the articles of the capitulation.*

Before this conquest of Port Mahon, Fort Fornelle, which had beneath it a harbour little less considerable, though less known than Port Mahon, had submitted to the obedience of King Charles. This service was owing to Captain Butler, and Captain Fairborne, who battered that fort, with the two ships under their command, till they obliged it to surrender. The place was naturally strong, and was, besides, tolerably fortified; having four bastions, and twelve pieces of brass cannon: yet, it cost but four hours time, and the loss of six men killed, and twelve wounded. They found in the garrison, a hundred cannon, three thousand barrels of powder, and all things necessary for a good defence.

Some little time after, the general sent a detachment of about a hundred Spaniards, with three hundred or more of the Marquis Pisaro's regiment, to Citadella, the chief town of the island on the west side thereof. Sir Edward Whitaker dispatched two ships of war thither; which place put them to no great trouble, for the garrison, immediately surrendering, were made prisoners of war, consisting of a hundred French, and as many Spaniards. Being thus possessed of this important island, we had thereby the advantage of an excellent harbour, which, during the war, was exceedingly useful to us in the cleaning and refitting such of our ships as were employed in the Mediterranean; and not only magazines of stores were lodged there for that purpose, but such officers appointed to reside on the place, as were judged requisite, and a vast expence saved thereby to the nation.*

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* The troops under the command of General Stanhope, consisted of no more than two thousand six hundred men, which were landed at Port Mahon, on the 14th of October. They were not able to batter the place till the 28th, and, two days after, it surrendered; about fifty men were killed and wounded in the siege, and among the former, Captain Stanhope of the Milford, brother to the general, a young gentleman of great hopes, and who had distinguished himself remarkably upon this occasion. Burchet's Naval History. Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii.

But it is now time we should return to the fleet, which, as we observed, sailed under the command of Sir John Leake for England, the sixth of September. His excellency, on his arrival at Gibraltar, being there informed, that four French men of war had taken some of our merchant ships, running, as they called it, without convoy, near Cape Spartel, and carried them into Cadiz; he thought proper to leave a small squadron, consisting of two third rates, one fourth, and a fifth, to cruize in that station, in order to prevent such accidents for the future, and then pursued his voyage to England, where he arrived safely at St. Helen's, on the 19th of October, having met in the Soundings with the squadron cruising there under the command of Lord Dursley, afterwards Earl Berkley, and for some time at the head of the Admiralty.

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* The reduction of the island of Minorca, was so considerable a service, that all imaginable pains were taken to make the British nation sensible thereof, by giving an exact relation of that whole proceeding in the Gazette; and after General Stanhope had transmitted an account of the conquest of the whole island, the earl of Sunderland, then principal Secretary of State, wrote the following letter to his excellency upon that subject:

"Sir,

"I received on Monday the favour of yours of the 30th September, N. S. by Captain Moyser, with the welcome news of your taking Port Mahon; which though it came at the same time as the news of taking of Lisle yet was not at all lessened by it; every body looking upon our being in possession of Port Mahon, as of the last consequence to the carrying on the war in Spain, besides the other advantages, if we are wise, we may reap from it, both in war and peace. I cannot express to you the sense the queen, and every body here, have of your zeal and conduct, in this affair, to which this very important success is so much owing. I heartily condole with you for the loss of your brother, which, indeed, is a public loss to us all, he was so deserving a young man. I must not omit telling you, the queen does entirely approve of your leaving an English garrison in Port Mahon, for the reasons you mention, though some of them must be kept secret. Her Majesty doth approve also of the governor you have named, &c."

Sir Edward Whitaker had now the sole command of the squadron left for the Mediterranean service, and was consequently exposed to all the difficulties which usually happen to officers under different orders. On one side, he was bound to regulate his conduct by the instructions left him by Sir John Leake; on the other, he was continually solicited by King Charles, to undertake this or that expedition for his service. The chief thing the imperial court had at this time in view, was, the reduction of the island of Sicily, an enterprise not to be undertaken, but in conjunction with our fleet; and as it afterwards proved, not then neither; for when Sir Edward had disposed of every thing in the best manner possible, for the supporting this design, the viceroy of Naples declared, there were such discontents in that kingdom, as would not allow him to send any troops from thence; but, if Sir Edward Whitaker would furnish him with a small squadron, he was ready to undertake the reduction of the places on the coast of Tuscany, which belonged to the crown of Spain.

In compliance with this request, the Defiance, and the York, with the Terrible bomb-vessel, were sent into the road of Piombino; but the Germans, as usual, were so backward in their preparations, that it was necessary to continue a month longer in those seas; to very little purpose, at least with respect to either of the designs before-mentioned: but, in regard to a dispute that then subsisted between his holiness and the imperial court, and which had almost risen into a war, it had a better effect; for our chacing some of the Pope's gallies, and threatening to bombard Civita Vecchia, contributed not a little to bring down the pontiff's haughty stomach, and inclined him to an accommodation upon terms acceptable to the imperial court.

All this time, Sir Edward Whitaker himself was at Leghorn, attending the motions of the German troops, where he unexpectedly received a letter from King Charles III. of a very extraordinary nature. His Majesty acquainted him therein, that the enemy had not only besieged the city of Denia, in Valencia, but had threatened also to attack Alicant, in which they were to be supported by a French fleet of fifteen ships of the line. For these reasons, and to prevent his being surrounded in Catalonia, his Majesty earnestly intreated him not to pass the Straits, as by Sir John Leake's instructions he was required to do, but to remain upon the coast of Spain; assuring him, if he did otherwise, he would charge upon him all the misfortunes that might happen to his affairs. General Stanhope also wrote much to the same purpose; upon which it was resolved, in a council of war, to proceed immediately to Vado, to take on board there a reinforcement of German foot, for the service of King Charles, and then sail directly for Barcelona.

In pursuance of this design, Sir Edward Whitaker left Leghorn on the 27th of November, and having executed it very successfully, arrived safely at Barcelona. There the king acquainted him by letter, that, according to what had been agreed on, at a council of war held in his royal presence, the most considerable service the squadron under his command could do, at that juncture was, to return to Italy, and convoy the troops from thence designed for Catalonia; but withal, recommended to him not only the convoying the transports, with corn from Majorca, and their being afterwards sent to Sardinia, for a further supply, and for horses to mount their cavalry, but that, when he should be on the coast of Italy, he would appoint such ships as Cardinal Grimani might desire, to secure the passage of the Pharo of Messina, which might conduce to the more speedy accommodation of affairs that were negociating at Rome.

Hereupon it was agreed, that the Dutch ships should proceed directly to Majorca, and convoy the transports to Barcelona, and from thence to Cagliari, as soon as they should be unladen, while the rest of the squadron made the best of their way to Leghorn, where arriving, they met with very bad weather; but here they had advice, that matters were accommodated at Rome, the Pope having owned Charles III. king of Spain; and from the Marquis De Prie, that three thousand effective men should be ready to embark at Naples, as soon as they arrived there. These negociations took up the remaining part of the winter, and therefore, here we are to put an end to our account of Sir Edward Whitaker's squadron, the proceedings of which we shall resume, when we come to speak of the naval transactions of the ensuing year.

The squadron appointed to cruise in the Soundings, was commanded this year by Lord Dursley, who was very fortunate in protecting our trade, but not altogether so happy in chacing the French ships that appeared from time to time upon our coast, which was intirely owing to the foulness of his ships, and to the cleanness of theirs. In the middle of the summer, a resolution was taken, to make a descent on, or at least to alarm, the coast of France; and Sir George Byng as admiral, and Lord Dursley as vice-admiral, of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet destined for that purpose, and Lieutenant-general Erle had the command of the land-forces. Many things were given out with relation to this expedition, the true design of which was disturbing the French naval armaments on their coasts, and obliging the French court to march great bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which necessarily occasioned the diminishing of their army in Flanders. On the 27th of July, the fleet, with the transports, having the troops on board which were intended for the descent, sailed from Spithead, and came the next day to an anchor off Deal. The 29th, they stood over to the coast of Picardy, as well to alarm as to amuse the enemy, and to be ready for further orders. The first of August the fleet sailed again, and anchored the next day in the Bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops; the third, they stood in pretty nigh the shore, to observe the condition of the enemy The fourth they weighed; but anchored again about noon in the Bay of Estaples.

Here a detachment of troops were actually landed; but the project on shore, which the descent was to have countenanced, being by this time laid aside, an express brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were re-embarked. The seventh, they stood over again to the coast of England, and, being joined by several more transports in Dover road, arrived the 11th in the Bay of La Hogue. The 12th, it was designed to have landed the troops; but, upon viewing the coast, they found so many of the enemy's forces brought together, to oppose a descent, and so many forts and batteries on shore, that it was judged impracticable. The 14th, the fleet sailed again to the westward; but, the wind coming about the next day, they altered their course, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no prospect of doing any thing there. The same day, the Lord Dursley, in the Oxford, with six other men of war, and frigates, sailed to the westward to cruise in the Soundings. The 17th, the rest of the fleet returned to the Bay of La Hogue; but the men growing sickly, and provisions falling short, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead on the 28th.

When the squadron under Lord Dursley had been victualled, and refitted, at Plymouth, he sailed from thence on the twenty-eighth of September, with five ships of war, and was joined the next day by the Hampshire, which had taken a small French privateer. His lordship took another himself, of twenty-four guns, belonging to St. Malo, which had done a great deal of mischief. On the seventh of November his lordship returned to Plymouth, and soon after, the Hampshire brought in a privateer of sixteen guns, and a rich merchantman bound to the West Indies; the Salisbury likewise brought in two prizes, and, through the great vigilance of this noble commander, the whole coast was very thoroughly protected. In the middle of December, his lordship having cleaned his ship, put to sea again with his squadron, and, on the twenty-ninth, saw two ships, which chaced him; but when they came near, they bore away, and then his lordship returned the compliment, by chacing them with all the sail he could make, and at last came within gun-shot, when the commander lightened them by throwing many things overboard, and so they escaped; which gave great concern to his lordship, the one being a sixty, the other a fifty-gun ship: so that, after a short cruize, he returned with his squadron to Plymouth, without being able to make any other prize than a French fishing-vessel from the Banks of Newfoundland.

This indefatigable diligence of his lordship, though it was not attended with any extraordinary success, gave great satisfaction to the merchants, as it hindered the French privateers from venturing near our coasts, as they had done for many years before, to the inexpressible damage of our trade, as well as to the prejudice of our reputation as a maritime power. It was, therefore, justly resolved, to give his lordship an extraordinary mark of her Majesty's favour, by promoting him to the rank of vice-admiral of the white; and though this was somewhat retarded by the death of his royal highness the lord high-admiral, yet it took place in the spring of the succeeding year.

Before we part with this subject, in order to account, as we have promised to do, for what happened this year in the West Indies, it is requisite to speak of the passage of the queen of Portugal on board our fleet to Lisbon. Her Majesty was styled, before her marriage, the Arch-duchess Mary-Anne of Austria, daughter to the Emperor Leopold, and sister to the Emperor Joseph. This marriage was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cause, and was therefore very grateful to our court, who readily offered to send her Majesty to Lisbon on board a British squadron. In the beginning of the month of September she set out for Holland, where Rear-admiral Baker attended, with a small squadron, to bring her over, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fifth of that month, and landed her at Portsmouth, where she stayed some days at the house of Thomas Ridge, Esq. and the queen, being then at Windsor, sent instantly the duke of Grafton to compliment her Majesty on her part, as his royal highness the prince of Denmark did the Lord Delawar. On the sixth of October, about three in the afternoon, the queen of Portugal went on board the Royal Anne, where her Majesty was received by Sir George Byng, and, on her going off, the governor saluted her with all the cannon of the place; and the next morning at seven o'clock, the fleet weighed and put to sea, when the cannon of the town were again discharged.

Sir George Byng proceeded with a fair wind, and, after a quick and easy passage, brought her Majesty safely into the river of Lisbon, on the sixteenth of the same month. The king, with several magnificent barges, went on board the Royal Anne to welcome the queen; and, returning from thence, their Majesties landed at the bridge of the palace, under a magnificent triumphal arch, from whence they proceeded through a vast croud of people to the royal chapel, where they received the nuptial benediction, and heard *Te Deum* sung. His Majesty conducted the queen to her apartment, and they supped in public with the infantas. There were great rejoicings upon this occasion, and fire-works and illuminations for three nights together. The queen having generously expressed her great satisfaction as to the entertainment she had received during her stay in England, undoubtedly the king was very liberal in his magnificent presents to the admiral and others who conducted her. The arrival of the queen was attended with some other circumstances, which increased the joy of the people; for, on the twelfth, four ships from Brazil came into the river, and reported, that the rest of that so-long-expected fleet were near the coast.* Several other ships came in afterwards, so that, out of about a hundred sail, there were but thirty or forty wanting, which were detained by contrary winds. The cargo was rich, and there was a good quantity of gold in specie aboard.†

Sir George, the very next day after his arrival, had intelligence that some French ships of considerable force had been seen upon the coast, which were supposed to be waiting for the rest of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. Upon this, he immediately sailed in quest of them, though without success, except that the news of being at sea forced them to retire, and thereby secured the safe arrival in port of the remaining thirty-four ships, which dropped in by degrees. About the middle of November, Sir George received orders to proceed to Port Mahon, to winter there, and to leave Sir John Jennings at Lisbon with a small squadron. But before he left that river, he received the queen's instructions to wear the Union flag in the Mediterranean. He sailed on the 27th of December, with six ships of the line, two fire-ships, and three store-ships or tenders, leaving directions with Sir John Jennings, to appoint the first ships he should have clean, to guard the mouth of the Straits; and having sent two third rates, two fourths, and a fifth a-head of him to Alicant, to assure the governor of the castle there of his assistance, he arrived himself about the height of Cape Palos the third of January, when standing in for Alicant, the wind came off from the land so fresh, at N. N. W. that he could not fetch the bay, so that he bore away to Port Mahon; but when he had got within four leagues of that place, which was on the fifth, the wind came to the north, and N. N. E. blowing extremely hard, with much snow; and the next day it was so very tempestuous, that it separated most of the squadron, forcing him almost as high as Sardinia; but on the twelfth, he got into Port Mahon, where he found most of the squadron.

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* This fleet is said to have been the richest that ever arrived in the river of Lisbon, as we have remarked in the text, having on board ten thousand arobas of gold, each aroba weighing thirty-two pounds weight, and a great quantity of diamonds, besides merchandise, and was valued, in the whole, at fifty-two millions of crusadoes.

† Colonel Godfrey, who had married the duke of Marlborough's sister, was sent to Portsmouth, to defray the expences of the queen of Portugal's household, while she continued there, and accordingly he kept eight tables all that time. Her Majesty, in testimony of her grateful sense of the honours paid her by our court, made a present to the duke of Grafton of a diamond ring, worth twelve thousand crowns, and gave Admiral Byng her picture, set with diamonds, to a very great value. Her passage was remarkably happy, as she was not above ten days at sea. Mercure Historique et Politique, tome. xlv.

When we last mentioned the exploits of the English navy in America, we gave an account of the arrival there of Sir John Jennings, who commanded in these parts from October 1706, to January 1707, without having it in his power to perform any thing very remarkable. He was succeeded in his command by Commodore Wager, who arrived at Jamaica in the summer of the year 1707, and disposed all things in such a manner, that the designs of the enemy were rendered absolutely abortive; the several English settlements were thoroughly protected, and such convoys granted the merchants, as put the trade of that part of the world into a much better condition than it had been since the breaking out of the war; all which was very honourably acknowledged by the planters and merchants.

In the beginning of the year 1708, that part of the world was much alarmed with the news of M. Du Casse's arrival, with a French squadron of great force, and which, it was supposed, had some design upon the island of Jamaica. This apprehension, however, soon went over, upon the Commodore's receiving certain intelligence, that Du Casse was sailed for the Havannah, in order to conduct home the galleons. It is certain, that under his convoy they might have been absolutely safe, since he had double the strength of the English fleet in those seas; and, therefore, we may very well admire, that Commodore Wager should even form a design upon these treasure-ships, and much more that he should succeed in it, in spite of all the care and vigilance of M. Du Casse, at once the most able and most active sea-officer then in the French service.

Such as knew the disposition of the late Sir Charles Wager will readily acquit me of flattery, when I venture to give this character of him: that he was an officer who valued his reputation as much, and his fortune as little, as any man that ever was in the British service. Avarice, therefore, had no share in this project of his, which was grounded only in a desire of doing his duty, and restoring the reputation of the British arms, which had not been a little sunk in that part of the world, especially by the covetousness and cowardly proceedings of some of our commanders. The commodore understood perfectly the route of the galleons: he knew that they were to sail from Porto-Bello to Carthagena, and from thence to the Havannah, and, as he was very sensible that it was to no purpose to attempt them after they had joined Du Casse, he was resolved to try if it was not possible to intercept them in their passage from Porto-Bello to Carthagena

With this view he sent Captain Humphrey Pudner, in the Severne, to watch the enemy's motions in Porto-Bello, from whom he received advice, on the

23d of May, that, on the 19th, the galleons were sailed. The commodore had then with him the Expedition, Kingston, Portland, and Vulture fire-ship, and cruised to the 27th, in expectation of the galleons, but not meeting with them, the commodore began to fear they had intelligence of his being on the coast, and were gone for the Havannah.*

On the 28th of May, about noon, the galleons, in all seventeen sail, were discerned from his top-mast-head, and at the same time they discovered him; but, despising so small a force, resolved to proceed. He chaced them till evening, when they, finding they could not weather the Baru, a small island which lay in their passage to Carthagena, resolved to dispute the matter there, and stretching therefore to the northward with an easy sail, they drew as well as they could into a line of battle. The admiral, who wore a white pennant at the main-top-mast-head, in the centre; the vice-admiral, with the same pennant at the fore-top-mast-head, in the rear; and the rear-admiral, who bore the pennant on the mizen-top-mast-head, in the van, about half a mile from each other, there being other ships between them.

Of the seventeen, two were sloops, and one a brigantine, which stood in for the land; two others of them were French ships, which, running away, had no share in the action; the rest Spaniards. The commodore instantly made his disposition; he resolved to attack the admiral himself, gave instructions to Captain Simon Bridges, who commanded the Kingston, to engage the vice-admiral, and sent his boat to the Portland, commanded by Captain Edward Windsor, with orders to attack the rear-admiral, and as there was no immediate occasion for the fire-ship, she plied to the windward.

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* This was an affair of prodigious consequence; for, first, the galleons had not returned to Europe for several years, and consequently were extravagantly rich. This very squadron that was attacked by Commodore Wager, had on board forty-eight millions of pieces of eight. The Spaniards and French depended entirely upon this supply, their cash and credit being absolutely worn out, so that their mint-bills were at thirty and forty *per cent.* discount. It was for these reasons, that care was taken to send so strong a French squadron into the West Indies, and under the command too of an officer, who, besides his high reputation in every other respect, was the best acquainted of any man with those seas.

The sun was just setting when Commodore Wager came up with the admiral, and then, beginning to engage, in about an hour and half's time (it being dark) she blew up, not without great danger to the Expedition, from the splinters and planks which fell on board her, on fire, and the great heat of the blast. Hereupon the commodore put abroad his signal-lights, for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue sight of some of the enemy's ships; but finding, after this accident, they began to separate, and discovering but one, which was the rear-admiral, he made sail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he happened to fire his broadside, at least many guns, into her stern, which did so much damage, that it seemed to disable her from making sail, and being then to leeward, he tacking on the Spaniard, got to windward of him, and the Kingston and Portland, which had, by reason of the darkness of the night, or the blowing up of the Spanish admiral, which made it very thick thereabouts, lost sight of the other ships, following his lights soon after, came up with him, and assisted in taking the rear-admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ship he sent his boats to bring to him the chief officers, and before the rising of the sun, he saw one large ship on his weather-bow, and three sail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off ours, lying then with their heads to the north, the wind being at N. E. an easy gale. Then he put out the signal for the Kingston and Portland to chace to windward, not being able himself to make sail, being much disabled;

and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize, so were there no less than three hundred Spanish prisoners on board his own ship.

On Sunday the 30th, the wind being from the N. E. to N. N. W. and but little of it, the Kingston and Portland had left off chace; but he made the signal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of sight, the fire-ship still continuing with him, and he having lain by some time, not only to put the prize in a condition of sailing, but to refit his own rigging, made sail eastward on the 31st, when the Kingston and Portland joined him, and gave him an account, that the ship they chaced was the vice-admiral; to which, as they said, they came so near as to fire their broadsides into her; but were so far advanced towards the Salmadinas, a shoal off Carthagena, that they were forced to tack and leave her. This gave the commodore great uneasiness, and determined him to call the captains of these ships to account; but, in the mean time, he sent them orders to take or destroy a galleon of forty guns, which he understood, by a Swedish ship that had been trading at Baru, had taken shelter in that island.

She was just coming out of port as the Kingston and Portland appeared; upon which her crew ran her a-shore, set her on fire, and blew her up, so that nothing could be got out of her, as our captains affirmed, and this, as it appeared to the commodore, afterwards, was true. On the 2d of June, the commodore finding his provisions and water short, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in those parts, resolved to set the Spanish prisoners a-shore, according to their request, on the island of Baru, and then proceed for Jamaica; which he performed accordingly, and the Spanish rear-admiral retained, as long as he lived, a grateful sense of the commodore's civility.*

On the 8th of July, the Expedition, Kingston, and

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* According to the account given to the commodore by these prisoners, of the strength and value of the squadron, and which

Vulture fire-ship, brought the prize safe into Port-Royal harbour, where the commodore soon after arrived. He found, at his return, the new act of parliament for the distribution of prizes; and though he had before permitted the sailors to plunder as they thought fit, when the prize was taken, yet now he appointed agents, in obedience to that act of parliament, and ordered Captain Long to deliver up nearly thirty thousand pounds worth of silver and effects, that he had taken between decks, in order to satisfy the sailors of the uprightness of his intentions. He likewise took care to dispatch proper intelligence to England, that ships might be fitted out to cruise for the galleons that had escaped; and, on the 23d of July, he held a court-martial on the two captains who had behaved so indifferently in the late engagement.*

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seems to deserve more credit than any others, the admiral, called the St. Joseph, carried sixty-four guns, and had six hundred men, of whom seventeen only were saved, and had on board about seven millions in gold and silver; the vice-admiral mounted sixty-four guns, and had between four and five hundred men, with about six millions; the rear-admiral mounted forty-four guns, but carried eleven more in her hold, and had only thirteen chests of pieces of eight, and fourteen sous of silver, the rest of the galleons were, for the most part, loaded with cocoa. It is very remarkable, that in all the action, the commodore had but two men killed, and nine wounded. I shall take this opportunity of adding a succinct account, of a gallant exploit performed by an English officer, a little before the taking of the galleons. Captain Colebay, commander of a privateer sloop, of about an hundred men, meeting with fourteen sail of brigantines and sloops, laden with valuable goods, going from the galleons at Porto Bello, to Panama, under convoy of a guard sloop, bravely fought the guard sloop, and took her and six more. The Spaniards offered the captain one hundred and eighty thousand pieces of eight for the ransom of the sloop, which he refused.

* In the London Gazette, No. 4476, we have the following account of the proceedings of this court martial:

At a court martial held on board her Majesty's ship Expedition, at Port Royal, in Jamaica, the 23d of July, 1708.

Present.—Charles Wager, Esq. commander in chief of a squadron of her Majesty's ships in the West Indies, PRESIDENT:

A few days after, the commodore received a commission, appointing him rear-admiral of the blue, which bore date before his taking of the galleon; and,

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Captain Barrow Harris, of the Assistance; Captain Tudor Trevor, of the Windsor, Captain Humphry Pudner, of the Severne; Captain Stephen Hutchins, of the Scarborough; Captain Henry Long, of the Expedition; Captain Abraham Tudor, of the Dolphin.

All duly sworn, according to an act of parliament.

Captain Simon Bridges, commander of her Majesty's ship the Kingston, was tried for not having performed his duty in a late action with the Spanish galleons, on the coast of Carthagena, in New Spain, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May last; and it did appear by evidence upon oath, that the said Captain Simon Bridges, through misconduct, did not use his utmost endeavours to engage, and take the enemy, on the 28th of May last, at night; and that he did too negligently pursue the chace of the Spanish vice-admiral, the 29th and 30th: and that he left off chace, when within gun-shot of the said ship, doubting the pilot's knowledge, and bearing near the shoal, called Salmadinas, though the pilot offered to carry the ship within the said shoal, after the said vice-admiral; but no want of personal courage being alleged against him, this court does only find him guilty of the breach of part of the 12th, and part of the 14th articles of war, and for the said offence, do dismiss him, the said Captain Simon Bridges, from being captain of her Majesty's ship Kingston.

Captain Edward Windsor, commander of her Majesty's ship the Portland, being tried for not doing his duty, in a late action with the Spanish galleons, on the coast of Carthagena, in New Spain, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May last; it did appear, by evidence upon oath, that the said Captain Edward Windsor was slack in his duty, by not bearing so near the enemy as to keep sight of some of them, when they were engaged on the 28th at night; that upon chacing the enemy next day, by signal from the commodore, he left off chace, and bore down to the Kingston in the evening, when he ought not to have done so; and that on the 30th, when the Kingston and Portland chaced the vice-admiral of the galleons, near the Salmadinas, he shortened sail before he came up with the said ship, so far as he might have done; but it appears, that he was led into these mistakes through want of judgment, and having too great a regard to Captain Bridges, of the Kingston, as a senior officer. This court having duly considered the whole matter, do find him guilty of the breach of some part of the 12th, and part of the 14th articles of war, and for the said offence, do dismiss him, the said Captain Edward Windsor, from being captain of her Majesty's ship Portland.

therefore, as Mr. Lediard very justly observes, ought not to be considered as a reward for that action; in which light, however, many other writers have placed it. Captain John Edwards arriving at Jamaica, with the Monmouth, a third rate, the Jersey, a fourth, and the Roebuck, a fifth rate, brought the rear-admiral orders, to send home with him, the Expedition, Windsor, Assistance, Dolphin, Dunkirk's prize, and Vulture fire-ship, with which he complied; and by the latter end of September, they all sailed for England, the Dunkirk's prize excepted, which frigate, not being in a condition to be trusted home in the winter, the rear-admiral sent her out on a short cruize, with the Monmouth, the ship in which he was to hoist his flag, under the command of his first lieutenant, when in the Expedition, Captain Purvis; and they brought in two French merchant ships, one of one hundred, the other of one hundred and fifty tons, laden with wine, brandy, and other goods, from Rochelle to Petit Guavas; but cruising soon after, on the north side of Hispaniola, the Dunkirk's prize chaced a French ship, until she ran on shore near Port Francoise, and following her too near, the pilot not being well acquainted, she struck upon a ledge of rocks, where, being a very weak ship, she soon bulged; Captain Purvis, with some of his men, got upon a small key, or uninhabited island, within shot of the French ship; and though she had fourteen guns, and sixty men, and fired smartly upon them, yet having his own boats, with a canoe he had taken, and having made a stage, from whence he was ready to attack them, the French demanded quarter, and surrendered the ship, upon agreement, that her commander and men should be put on shore; and with this ship Captain Purvis arrived at Jamaica, with all his company, except twenty-one, who refused to assist in the attempt, believing it altogether impossible to succeed therein.

Upon intelligence sent the rear-admiral from the

Admiralty, that M. Du Guai Trouin was sailed with a strong squadron, which it was believed might be intended to execute some design upon the island of Jamaica, a council of war was held on the 1st of December, 1708, where were present, besides Rear-admiral Wager, Captain Trevor, of the Kingston; Captain Pudner, of the Severne; Captain Hutchins, of the Portland; Captain Vernon, of the Jersey; Captain Charles Hardy, of the Roebuck; and it being judged, that, if they made such an attempt, it would be against the harbour of Port Royal, it was determined, that all her Majesty's ships there, except such as it might be necessary to send to windward, for intelligence, or on any other extraordinary occasion, should be drawn up in a line, at the entrance of the said harbour, so as that, with the assistance of the fort, they might in the best manner possible defend it, and most annoy the enemy. The 18th of January, another council of war was called, and since the letter of advice before mentioned was dated almost six months before, it was considered, whether the squadron should be kept any longer together, since the enemies ships had not appeared; in which it was at length determined, they ought to be employed on necessary services. Thus we have brought the proceedings in the West Indies down to the close of this year, and, according to the method hitherto pursued, we are now to return home, and to give an account of such remarkable events there, as have relation to the affairs of the navy.

On the 27th of October, a court-martial was held on board the Royal Anne, at Spithead, for the trials of Captain Richard Edwards, of the Cumberland; Captain John Balchen, of the Chester; and Captain Baron Wild of the Royal Oak; the two first for losing their ships, and the last for breaking the line, disobeying his commanding officer's orders, and neglect of duty. After a strict examination of witnesses, and free liberty given to the persons accused to make their defence, and to produce whatever testimonies were in their power, Captain Edwards was most honourably acquitted, and declared to have done his duty, in every respect, both as captain and commodore; and Captain John Balchen was also acquitted; but Captain Baron Wild being found guilty of neglect of duty, and disobeying orders, was not only cashiered, but declared incapable of ever serving in the royal navy.

On the 28th of October, died his royal highness George Prince of Denmark, lord high-admiral of England, and her British Majesty's consort, at Kensington, of an asthma. He was born in 1653; married to her Majesty the 28th of July, 1683; and on the 13th of November, 1708, he was interred in the abbey-church of Westminster, at ten in the evening. At this hour, the ordnance on the platform, and on board all the ships in the harbour of Portsmouth, were fired, a minute after each other, which lasted for some hours; and the next morning the Union flag was hoisted again, which had been taken down on the news of his royal highness's death. Her Majesty was pleased to keep the Admiralty in her own hands, for about three weeks; and, on the 25th of November, she appointed Thomas earl of Pembroke lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, to the great satisfaction of the whole nation.*

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* Bishop Burnet gives this account of the matter: "In the end of October, George prince of Denmark died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after he had been twenty five years and some months married to the queen: he was asthmatical, which grew on him with his years; for some time he was considered as a dying man, but the last year of his life he seemed to recover a better state of health. The queen had been, during the whole course of her marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate wife; and in all his illness, which lasted some years, she would never leave his bed, but sometimes sat up half the night in the bed by him, with such care and concern, that she was looked on, very deservedly, as a pattern in this respect. This prince had shewed himself brave in war, both in Denmark and Ireland: his temper was mild and gentle; he had made a good progress in mathematics; he had travelled

The new parliament meeting on the 18th of November, and having chosen Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. for their speaker, the lord high-chancellor, in a speech from the throne, recommended a provision for the navy, and especially for the building of new ships, and fortifying our ports. On the 6th of December, the House of Commons addressed, for an account of the number of men, that might be wanting to man her Majesty's navy, for the year 1709; which was promised, and upon this, accounts being laid before the house, they agreed to it immediately, and voted the same number of men, with the same allowance, and the same sum for the ordinary use of the navy, as had been given the year before; but soon after, the commons thought fit to appoint a committee to enquire into the number of ships employed as cruisers and convoys; as also to discover the true reasons of the great increase of the navy debt; and on their report, they came to a resolution on the 24th of March, "That an address be presented to her Majesty, to desire that she would be pleased to give directions to the proper officers, to lay before the house, an account of all the sums of money granted, or voted, since her Majesty's accession to the crown, and how far the same had proved deficient." At the same time, they ordered the commissioners of the navy to lay before them the causes of the increase of the debt of the navy. But, to this address, it seems, the ministry did not think fit her Majesty should give any answer; so the affair dropped for that time. It is certain, and indeed it was very natural, this conduct of the court gave great offence; yet the commons were so hearty in the prosecution of the war, that, with their usual liberality, they gave for the service of the year 1709, no less a sum than 6,457,830*l.*

There were also in this session some other things

through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more than he could well express; for he spoke acquired languages ill and ungracefully."

done for promoting trade and the plantations, such as a grant of 103,203*l.* for the relief of the inhabitants of St. Nevis, and St. Christopher's, and a vote in favour of the trade to Africa; but the most remarkable was, the joint address of both houses, that her Majesty would be pleased not to conclude any peace with the French king, unless he consented to demolish the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk; which point being accordingly insisted upon in the conferences at the Hague, with M. De Torci, for settling the preliminaries of a general peace; and that minister shewing greater reluctance to consent to this, than to any other of the articles, alleging, that his master bought, and paid for this town and port, besides laying out immense sums upon it since; which so provoked Prince Eugene, that he could not help telling the French ministers, with great warmth, that he wondered they should spend so many words about it, and that they ought rather to admire the generosity of a princess, who, having it in her power to prescribe them harder terms, and force them to deliver that, with what other places she pleased, and revive many pretensions of the crown of England, gave an unparalleled example of her moderation. This had such an effect, that the point was immediately given up, and the following article makes the seventeenth of the preliminaries they agreed on:

"His Most Christian Majesty promises, to cause all the fortifications of the town of Dunkirk, the harbour, and Rysbanck, and others depending on the same, without any exception, to be demolished at his own charges; so that one half of the fortifications be demolished, and one half of the harbour filled up within two months, and the other half of the said fortifications razed, and the other half of the said harbour filled up in two other months, the whole to the satisfaction of the queen of Great Britain, and the Lords the States-general of the United Provinces; and it shall never be allowed to re-establish the said fortifications, or render the harbour navigable, directly or indirectly."

I have taken particular notice of this, in order to shew how unanimous all parties in this nation have ever been, as to their sentiments on this head; for it was Lord Somers who moved this affair in the upper house; and therefore, the measure ought to be considered as a direct proof of the disposition of the Whig ministry, as the inserting a like clause in the treaty of Utrecht, plainly shews the sense of Tory ministers; whence I conclude, that there must be a total revolution of parties in this country, before there can arise a set of men capable of weakening this part of our security, in any respect, by consenting to, or even conniving at the restoring this port, so fatal to the commerce of the two maritime powers. To these points, I shall add the inquiry into the conduct of the ministry in the late invasion, which was justified by the resolutions of the House of Commons, and the diligence of the Admiralty commended.

Before we proceed to the operations of the year 1709, it may not be amiss to take notice of a great naval promotion made by her Majesty, for this reason, because it was one of the noblest testimonies of her Majesty's concern and regard towards such of her subjects as had served with extraordinary diligence and activity at sea; for the post of rear-admiral of Great Britain having been vacant since the death of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, her Majesty, of her mere grace and favour, without the interposition of any of her ministers, bestowed it on Sir John Leake, with this remarkable compliment, "That she was put in mind of it, by the voice of the people."

Early in the spring, Lord Dursley, who commanded in the Soundings, was at sea with his squadron, and took several prizes from the French; and on the 22d of February, his lordship having only with him the Kent, Plymouth, Monk, and Litchfield, fell in with eleven sail twelve leagues from Scilly. This happened about three in the morning, and their lights being seen, his lordship made the signal for wearing, which was obeyed, though not without imminent danger of falling amongst the enemy ; for this proved to be M. Du Guai Trouin's squadron. However, through the darkness of the weather, his lordship missed them ; and then stretching away for Plymouth, Captain Stuart of the Dartmouth, whom his lordship had sent in a little before with a prize, informed him, that he had been chaced by nine large ships off the Lizard, and that they were the same, in his judgment, which had fallen in with, and engaged Captain Tollet in his passage from Ireland. This affair having made a great noise, and doing extraordinary honour to the bravery of our English officers, I shall give a particular account of it from the captain's own papers.

On the 25th of February, Captain Tollet, in the Assurance, of 70 guns, with the Sunderland, of 60, Hampshire and Anglesea, of 50 guns each, sailed from Corke, and being joined by the Assistance, a 50 gun ship, as also with the trade from Kingsale, continued his voyage for England. On the second of March, about five in the morning, being then eight leagues S. S. W. of the Lizard, he saw four sail standing after him. About seven, they came within random shot ; whereupon he made the signal for drawing into a line of battle, and another for the merchantmen to bear away as they best could for their own security ; some of them, with the Anglesea and the Sunderland, having before lost company. About eight, the enemy bore down in a line, and when they were come within musket shot, they hoisted French colours.

The French commodore, who was in a ship of 70 guns or upwards, came ranging along the larboard side of the Assurance, and fell aboard her, so that they engaged yard-arm and yard-arm, for the space of almost half an hour ; during which, the Frenchman plied Captain Tollet so warmly with small shot, as to cut off most of his marines and seamen that were quartered on deck. They then put off, and fell on board again on the lee-side of the Assurance, first ranging on her bow, and then on her quarter, while she fired her upper deck, and part of her lower deck guns, with such vigour, that she obliged the enemy to sheer off, and stand away a-head towards the merchantmen. The three other ships, which were of 40 or 50 guns, then came ranging along-side the Assurance, firing several broadsides into her, and after that bore away as the former. The damage she received was very great; her sides were shot through and through in many places; her shrouds and backstays cut to pieces, as likewise her main and false stay; which, if not timely seen, had occasioned the loss of her mast. Her fore-sail and fore-top-sail were torn to pieces; her best bower cut away; one of the flukes of the spare anchor shot off, and her small bower, by the enemies boarding, drove through her bow. All possible dispatch was made in fitting her rigging, which, with the bending of a new fore-sail, and fore-top-sail, took up some time. After this the ships of war all bore down, to secure what merchant ships they could, expecting to have engaged the enemy again; but they declined it. The captain of the Assurance, who had been four months sick, and had been carried upon deck in a chair, was wounded; the first lieutenant was shot in the leg, which being dressed, he then returned to his charge upon deck; the second lieutenant was killed, as were several French officers, whom they brought from Ireland; but more of the latter were wounded. In the whole, the Assurance had five and twenty killed, and three and fifty wounded, and some of these died of their wounds; for the enemy making their chief attempt on her, she had been severely treated; the Hampshire had only two killed, and eleven wounded; the Assistance eight killed, and one and twenty wounded, among the latter was Captain Tudor, her commander, who died afterwards of his wounds.

M. Du Guai Trouin, who commanded the French squadron, had abundance of men killed and wounded, and took only five merchantmen, which it was believed he sent into Brest. In the memoirs, which go under his name, it is acknowledged, that our officers did their duty extremely well; that not only his own ship was very roughly handled by Captain Tollet, but also, that the Amazon, and the Glory, that were with him, met the like reception from the Hampshire and the Assistance. As to the five prizes, he says, that two of them were sent to St. Maloe's, one got into Calais, and the other two foundered on the English coast.

Lord Dursley, on the 20th of March, ordered three ships to cruise off Brest, to gain intelligence, and in the mean time the Salisbury took a French West India ship, richly laden; but the most valuable part of her effects were immediately taken out, because she proved so leaky, that it was suspected she might founder at sea. On the 29th, his lordship had orders to see the Lisbon fleet of merchantmen safe into the sea; but his lordship having received certain intelligence, that M. Du Guai Trouin was then cruising at the distance of about thirty-five leagues from Scilly, his lordship proposed to leave the trade and transports, under the protection of some Dutch men of war that were expected from Portsmouth, and resolved to go himself in search of the enemy; but these Dutch ships of war not arriving in time, his lordship thought it better to comply with his orders. He accordingly escorted the Lisbon fleet as far as he was directed, and had scarcely parted from them, on the 9th of April, before he discovered the Achilles, commanded by M. Du Guai Trouin, and the Glory, who, the day before, had taken the Bristol man of war, a fifty-gun ship; his lordship immediately gave them chace, recovered the Bristol, which, by a shot in her bread-room, sunk afterwards; but all the men, except twenty, were saved. The Achilles, much shattered, escaped by her swift sailing, but the Le Gloire, a French man of war of 44 guns and 312 men was taken; his lordship having about seventy men killed and wounded in the action. On the 26th of April, two small ships were taken, and on the 7th of May, a privateer, carrying 14 guns, and 100 men; but the provisions through all the ships then growing very short, his lordship found it necessary to return to Plymouth on the 13th, with his squadron, which consisted at that time of one third and seven fourth rates, and there received the unwelcome news, that her Majesty's ship the Sweepstakes, of 32 guns, had been taken by two French privateers, each of which was of greater force than that frigate.

To balance this piece of ill news, there arrived, about the same time, advice, that four French men of war had attacked some New England ships, laden with masts, under the convoy of Captain Walter Ryddel, in the Falmouth, a ship of 50 guns, about twenty-four leagues from Scilly. This happened on the 18th of May, and the French commodore, a sixty gun ship attempting to board the Falmouth, Captain Ryddel saved him the trouble, by filling his head-sails, and laying her on board under her boltsprit, directly athwart her hawser, and at the same time raked her fore and aft with his cannon. The enemy continued in this posture about an hour and half, during which time he entered many men, but they were repulsed. However, the number of men on board her being much greater than those in the Falmouth, it occasioned various turns: but at length he thought fit to retire, having first cut all the laniards of the Falmouth's fore and mizen shrouds, believing it might prevent her following to rescue the convoys, which the enemy stood after. Notwithstanding this, Captain Ryddel made sail after him with such diligence, as enabled him, notwithstanding the bad condition he was in, to preserve them all, and to bring them safe into Plymouth. In this action the Falmouth had thirteen men killed, and fifty-six wounded. The captain himself was wounded in the right leg, and had several other hurts; and the second lieutenant, and Mr. Lawson, a volunteer, were shot through the body; the Falmouth had twenty thousand pounds, New England money, on board her at the time of the engagement.

On the very same day, application being made to his excellency Thomas earl of Wharton, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, signifying that two French privateers had entered Bantry Bay, and surprised the Ruth of London, a West India ship, supposed to be worth 25,000*l.* at least; his lordship ordered Captain Camock, in the Speedwell, then in the harbour of Kingsale, to proceed immediately in quest of the said privateers and their prize. He accordingly sailed directly for Beer-haven, at the very entrance of which he met one of the privateers and the prize, making the best of their way to France. The prize was immediately retaken, on board which the captain put his lieutenant with forty men, and then continued the chace all night; but finding the privateer had given him the slip, he, the next morning, entered Bantry Bay, and took the other privateer, with thirty men on board, most of them Irish, whom he sent to the prison of Corke, in order to their being tried for high treason. Three weeks afterwards, the same alert officer had the good luck to surprise a French privateer of twelve guns and ninety men, on the very point of taking three merchantmen, richly laden, all of whom he brought safe into the port of Londonderry.

It is now time to return to the proceedings of Sir George Byng, whom we left in the harbour of Port Mahon, where he was extremely distressed for want of naval stores, which were on board the Arrogant, a ship that had been missing from his arrival in that harbour, in quest of which he detached ships to Majorca, and to the port of Cagliari in Sardinia; and at the same time dispatched orders to Sir Edward Whitaker, who was still on the coast of Italy, to join him with his squadron, in case the emperor's troops, that were designed for Catalonia, were not as yet ready. All the month of February, 1709, was spent in tedious expectations; but at last, about the middle of March, Sir Edward Whitaker arrived, with 3500 men, in transports under his convoy, to the great joy of Sir George Byng and General Stanhope, who had long waited for these forces, in order to attempt something for the relief of Alicant, then besieged by an army of 12,000 men, and for the safety of which, King Charles had expressed unusual concern. As this city and castle had been taken, as we before have shewn, by the remarkable valour of the British seamen; as the present siege of it was one of the most remarkable actions in this age; and as the attempt made for its relief cannot well be understood without it; I shall take the liberty of giving a succinct account of the whole affair, from the time the place was invested, to its surrender.

Alicant is a city and port, commanded by a strong castle, standing on a rock, at a small distance from the sea, and about sixty-eight miles south from the capital city of Valencia. There was in it a pretty good garrison, under the command of Major-general Richards, which made an obstinate defence against a very numerous army of the enemy, with a very large train of heavy artillery, and excellently supplied with ammunition. At last, the city being absolutely untenable, the garrison resolved to retire into the castle, which had hitherto been esteemed impregnable. They sunk three cisterns in the solid rock, and then, with incredible labour filled them with water. The troops that retired into it, were Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, and that of Colonel Sibourg, generally called the French regiment, because it was composed of refugees. After some progress made in this second siege, the French saw that it was impossible to do any great matter in the usual way, and therefore, contrary to all expectation, resolved upon a work excessively laborious, and, in all outward appearance, impracticable; which was that of mining through the solid rock, in order to blow up the castle and its garrison into the air together. At first Major-general Richards, and all the officers in the place, looked upon the enemy's scheme as a thing utterly impossible to be accomplished, and were secretly well pleased with their undertaking, in hopes it would give time for our fleet to come to their relief; yet, this did not hinder them from doing all that lay in their power to incommode the workmen, and, at last to countermine them.

The besiegers, however, wrought so incessantly, and brought such numbers of peasants to assist them in their labours, that they having, in about twelve weeks time, finished the works thought proper for this service, by very experienced engineers, and charged them with 1500 barrels of powder, several large beams, iron bars, and crows, and other utensils of destruction, summoned the castle to surrender, March 20th, most solemnly assuring a safe and honourable convoy to Barcelona, with bag and baggage for every person in it, if they submitted within three days, and prevented the ruin of the castle; but threatened otherwise, no mercy should be shewn, if any might accidentally escape the blow: and, to demonstrate the reality of their design, they desired the garrison might depute three, or more engineers, with other gentlemen of competent skill, to view their works, and make a faithful report of what they saw. Accordingly, two field officers went to the mine, and were allowed the liberty of making what scrutiny they pleased; upon which they told the governor, that, if their judgment failed them not, the explosion would carry up the whole castle to the easternmost battery, unless it took vent in their own countermine, or vein; but, at least, they conceived it would carry away the sea-battery, the lodging-rooms in the castle-close, some of the chambers cut for soldiers barracks, and, they very much feared, might affect the great cistern.

A grand council of war was called upon this; the French message delivered, and the engineers made their report; the besieged acknowledged their want of water; but believing the fleet might be sensible of their distress, and consequently under some concern for their relief, their unanimous resolution was, to commit themselves to the providence of God, and, whatever fate attended them, to stand the springing of the mine. The French general, and Spanish officers, expressed the utmost concern at this answer, and the second night of the three allowed, sent to divert them from what they called, and it is very likely thought, inexcusable obstinacy, offering the same honourable articles as before, even upon that late compliance; but these still were rejected by the besieged. The fatal third night approaching, and no fleet seen, the French sent their last summons, and withal an assurance, that their mine was primed, and should be sprung by six o'clock the next morning; and though, as they saw, all hope and prospect of relief was vain, yet there was room for safety still, and the terms already proposed were in their power to accept. The besieged persisted in their adherence to the result of their first council, and the French met their usual answer again; therefore, as a prologue to their intended tragedy, they ordered all the inhabitants of that quarter to withdraw from their houses before five o'clock the ensuing morning. The besieged, in the mean time, kept a general guard, devoting themselves to their meditations. The Major-general, Colonel Sibourg, and Lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft, of Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, sat together in the governor's usual lodging-room; other officers cantoned themselves as their tempers inclined them, to pass the melancholy night.

At length, day appearing, the governor was informed, that the inhabitants were flying in crowds to the westernmost part of the town. The governor, attended by the abovementioned gentlemen, and about five or six other officers, went to the west battery, to inform himself better. After he had remained there about a quarter of an hour, Lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft desired him to remove, as being unable to do any service there; he and Colonel Sibourg both answered, that no danger was to be apprehended there, more than in any other place; and that there they would wait the event. The lieutenant-colonel remained, because his superiors did, and other officers imitated the same example: but the hour of five being now considerably past, the corporal's guard cried out, that the train was fired, observing some smoke from the lighted matches, and other combustible matter near it, from whence the same ascended to the centinels above. The governor and field-officers were then urged to retreat, but refused.

The mine at last blew up; the rock opened and shut; the whole mountain felt the convulsion; the governor and field-officers, with their company, ten guns, and two mortars, were buried in the abyss; the walls of the castle shook, part of the great cistern fell, another cistern almost closed, and the rock shut a man to his neck in its cliff, who lived many hours in that afflicting posture. About thirty-six centinels and women were swallowed in different quarters, whose dying groans were heard, some of them after the fourth mournful day. Many houses of the town were overwhelmed in their ruins, and the castle suffered much; but, that it wears any form at all, was owing to the vent which the explosion forced through the veins of the rock, and the countermine. After the loss of the chief officers, the government fell of course to Lieutenant-colonel Dalbeume, rather as I apprehend D'Albon, of Sibourg's regiment, who drew out a detachment from the whole garrison, and with it made a desperate sally, to shew how little he was moved at their thunder. The bombs from the castle played on the town more violently, and the shot galled every corner of their streets; which marks of their resentment they continued till the arrival of our fleet, which they had expected so long.

The Spanish and French historians speak of this action with all imaginable regard to the gallant defence made by the besieged. The Spanish army was commanded by the Chevalier D'Asfeldt, who was then in the French service, and looked upon as the very best officer they ever sent to King Philip. He was an excellent engineer, saw at once what was to be done, and having formed his plan, pursued it steadily, and accomplished it generally. Under him commanded Don Pedro Ronquillo, a Spanish general of distinguished merit. D'Asfeldt contrived and directed the mine, Ronquillo raised and defended the entrenchments between the castle and the sea. Both punctually performed their parts, though both were difficult. D'Asfeldt was very strict and austere; the Spaniards, even of his own party, thought him cruel; yet, upon this occasion, he not only shewed himself generous, but humane. He used every argument possible to persuade Major-general Richards* to spare himself and his brave garrison, and deplored their loss with tenderness and affection. The Spaniards magnified their heroic conduct, and called the ruined castle, the monument of English courage.

On the 5th of April, about eight o'clock in the morning, Sir Edward Whitaker's squadron, arrived, and attempted the relief of the castle; his ships were the Defiance, Northumberland, Essex, York, and Dunkirk. The last went within the line, as drawing less water than the other, in three and a half fathom; then laying her broadside to the east part of the town, began to cannonade a battery of four guns, and two others raised under the hill, each mounted with two guns, and from the mole-head, a forty-two pounder. The wind having blown fresh the night before, and an unhappy swell rolling in from the eastward at eleven, the great ships were obliged to weigh their anchors, making out of cannon-shot. The Dunkirk having much of her rigging damaged, and her small bower cut, between one and two, fell fast a-stern, lying exposed to the enemy's shot, bombs, and carcasses, till three in the afternoon, at which time, by winding the right way, she with much difficulty got off. The weather continuing very bad till the 7th, and it not being known to what extremities the garrison might be reduced, and the enemy increasing considerably in strength, the general sent a flag of truce a-shore, with proposals for surrendering the castle; which being agreed to, and our men embarked, the Admiral (Sir George Byng) proceeded with the troops towards Barcelona, having detached some ships to cruize for the Turkey fleet; others, with transports for corn to Barbary; and the Suffolk, Humber, and Ipswich, which he left to clean at Port Mahon, were under orders to proceed to Genoa and Final, in order to embarking and transporting the German troops from those places to Catalonia.

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* This Major-general Richards, though an Englishman, was an officer in the King of Spain's service, and of the Romish religion; the foreign Gazettes mention him with respect, by the name of Don Juan Ricardo; there perished, besides the officers mentioned in the text, five captains, three lieutenants, forty-two soldiers, all the miners, and about thirty peasants.

In his way to Barcelona he landed General Stanhope, with the troops, at Tarragona, and returning with the garrison of the castle of Alicant to Port Mahon, joined some other ships to those he first intended for Genoa and Final, and sent them thither under the command of Sir Edward Whitaker; but directed him first to proceed to Leghorn, for a supply of provisions, which was at this time very much wanted. The few ships he had with him at Port Mahon, he was cleaning as fast as possible, that so they might cruize against the enemy, who had taken the Faulcon, a ship of thirty-two guns, off Cape De Gat, in her passage to Lisbon, from whence he had ordered Sir John Jennings to join him, with the ships under his command, who was off Gibraltar the 21st of May, with sixteen men of war, English and Dutch, and about forty transports, laden with corn, as also provisions and stores for the fleet in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Port Mahon the 28th; from whence he guarded the corn ships to Barcelona, and was joined the 8th of June by Sir George Byng, with the rest of the English and Dutch men of war; and there Sir Edward Whitaker arrived with his squadron from Italy, and above two thousand recruits for the army in Catalonia.

A council of war being held, it was determined, that since the king of Spain, as the posture of his affairs then stood, could not come to any resolution relating to the fleet's assisting in the reduction of those parts of Spain, still in the possession of the enemy, the admiral should sail to a station ten leagues south of Cape Toulon, not only for intercepting the enemy's trade, but to alarm them all that might be; but since it was necessary that a squadron should be on the coast of Portugal, Sir John Jennings was sent thither with one ship of the second rate, four of the third, five of the fourth, and three of the fifth.

Sir George Byng arrived before Toulon the 21st of June, in which harbour he saw only eight ships rigged, and one large man of war on the careen, the rest being disarmed; which satisfied him, that the informations he had formerly received were true, that the enemy did not intend, in fact were not able, to bring out any fleet that year; but were resolved to content themselves with sending abroad small squadrons to protect their corn-fleets. After having thus insulted Toulon, he in a short time returned to Barcelona road, where he found most of the ships arrived from the services upon which he had sent them; and some of them, particularly the Centurion and Dunkirk, had been so fortunate as to make a great many prizes. The court of Spain was, at the instance of Cardinal Grimani, very desirous to have the reduction of Sicily attempted, and was informed by General Stanhope, that it was her Majesty's pleasure, that part of the fleet should assist in the design upon Cadiz; but the Dutch ships having been separated in bad weather, and ours being too few to answer these and many other services the court proposed, he suspended for some time the coming to any resolution, being every day in expectation of the ships of the States-general.

But at length, that the service might not suffer through delay, the admiral formed a disposition of her Majesty's ships, and appointed Sir Edward Whitaker for the service of Sicily, while he himself designed to proceed on the other with General Stanhope. The 26th of July, the court of Spain having notice of the enemies penetrating into the Lampourdan, with intention, as they apprehended, to besiege Girone; and there being a want of ships to protect the coasts of Catalonia, and hinder the enemies having supplies by sea, as also a squadron to bring over the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina, which they were in great want of in that principality, and some ships to go to Italy, for money to subsist the troops; the court seemed to lay aside the design on Sicily, and the admiral sent five ships for the vessels laden with corn, which have been before mentioned.

The warmth, impatience, and irresolution of the court at Barcelona, obliged the admirals to drop both these great designs; for, without regard to what had been resolved, or even for what themselves had demanded before, they were continually desiring something new to be done for them, without ever considering, that it was impossible our ships could perform one service, without neglecting another. Thus, upon an apprehension that the enemy would attack Girone, the English ships were desired to intercept their subsistence. Soon after, they were distressed for want of provisions themselves, and then the most necessary thing that could be done was, to send for the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina. By the time this was resolved on, money grew scarce, and then his Catholic Majesty hoped that the English ships would go and fetch it immediately from Italy. The manner in which these demands were made, and the apprehensions that the officers were under of complaints being sent home, induced them to comply with every thing, as far as was in their power; so that of necessity, as the most distant and least practicable, the expedition against Sicily was laid aside. Our admirals, however, still flattered themselves that something might be done at Cadiz, where it was known the people were in want of bread, and were, besides, highly discontented with the French government.*

On the 27th of July, the Dutch squadron arrived from Leghorn, upon which Sir George Byng called a council of war, and laid before them the queen's orders, the desires of his Catholic Majesty, and the project formed by themselves for attempting Cadiz; but the commander in chief of the Dutch ships excused himself from any share in it; declaring, that they were victualled only till the end of August, which disabled him from undertaking any service beyond the 20th of that month. On the 28th of the month last mentioned, three English men of war, the Nassau, Ludlow Castle, and Antelope, sailed for Barcelona, having on board a great sum of money, for the service of his Catholic Majesty. It was then agreed, that Sir George Byng should proceed to Cadiz, and the Dutch ships be employed in other services; which, however, could not be executed; and, therefore, Sir George Byng resolved to return home to England, having taken, on board the fleet, General Stanhope, with Colonel Harrison's regiment of foot, and a Spanish regiment of dragoons, whom he landed safely at Gibraltar on the 31st. On the 25th of September he sailed for England, arriving at St. Helen's, in the Royal-Anne, with the Torbay, Chichester, Colchester, and Antelope, and a small prize taken by the Chichester, in her way from Gibraltar, on the 15th of October.

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* It was a great misfortune to King Charles, that he had nobody about him capable of giving him good advice, or of considering what was fit to be undertaken in the situation his affairs were in. This single mistake at grasping at every thing, when scarcely any thing was in his power, proved the ruin of all his undertakings; though, as this history fully shews, our sea-officers did for him all he could expect, and more a great deal than the officers of any other nation would have done, as is evident from "The Impartial Inquiry into the Management of the War with Spain," and all the histories of those times.

Sir Edward Whitaker was left with a pretty strong squadron in the Mediterranean, where, in the Bay of Roses, he discovered the grand convoy intended for the French forces in the Lampourdan, which consisted of forty large vessels laden with corn and other provisions, of which he took thirty, and hindered the rest from putting to sea; by this the enemy was greatly distressed, and King Charles's army so happily supplied with provisions, as to be able to keep the field, which, otherwise, they could not have done.* And having thus attended our fleets in the Mediterranean, as long as they were employed in any considerable service, we shall now return to the exploits performed in the Soundings by Lord Dursley, with the squadron under his command.

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* I find this put in a much stronger light by some Dutch writers, who tell us, that Admiral Whitaker, with fifteen sail of men of war, entered the Bay of Roses, and destroyed fifty French ships, laden with corn. They add, that the admiral was inclined to assist his Catholic Majesty in reducing Roses, which would have left the enemy without a sea-port in Catalonia; but his advice was not followed, which was much to the prejudice of King Charles's affairs

Sir George Byng, in his return from the Mediterranean, having obtained an exact detail of the strength, station, and designs, of M. Du Guai Trouin, sent an account of it to the lord high-admiral, who immediately dispatched it to the Lord Dursley, just returned from cruizing for a corn fleet, which the French expected from the Baltic. His lordship's instructions were, to give the enemy all the disturbance he could, and to take particular care of the West India trade, the intercepting of which, was the service that was principally designed by M. Du Guai Trouin. On the 8th of October, his lordship sailed from Plymouth, with one third-rate, and two fourths, having before detached Captain Vincent with six ships, to secure the West India fleet; and soon after, his lordship joined that detachment, by which he effectually prevented the French from succeeding in their design. On the last of October, his lordship being then off Scilly, took a large French ship* from Guadaloupe, and a small privateer. Three weeks after, he met with the Barbadoes fleet, and having sufficiently strengthened their convoy, detached two frigates for intelligence, into the road of Brest, that he might be the better enabled to undertake further service.

While his lordship was thus employed, there happened, in the latter end of November, such an accident to one of the ships of his squadron, as very well deserves our notice. Captain Hughes in the Winchester, chaced a ship, which proved to be a Dutch privateer, whose commander being required to strike, he, instead of paying that respect due to the flag of England, fired both great and small shot into him;

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* According to some accounts, this was a very considerable prize; no less than a ship of forty guns, with a cargo worth an hundred thousand pounds. Indeed, this lord took so many, and so rich prizes, that I do not wonder some of our writers grew weary of setting them down; for I observe, that sometimes active officers are not the greatest favourites.

but, being answered in the same manner, after an obstinate dispute, though it was very well known that the Winchester was an English ship of war, the commanding officer was killed, and between thirty and forty of the Dutch seamen.

His lordship being then vice-admiral of the red, detached, on the 9th of December, Captain Hartnol, in the Restauration, with four other ships, to cruize fifteen or twenty leagues west of Scilly, to protect some East India ships, and their convoys, from Ireland; and, on the 2d of January, was going from Plymouth, with seven clean frigates to relieve them; but being ordered to proceed part of the way with Sir John Norris towards Lisbon, his lordship, after complying with this order, remained in his appointed station till he was forced from it by foul weather; which, however, gave him an opportunity of taking a French privateer of twenty guns, and retaking the St. Peter of Dublin, a rich ship, of which the enemy had made themselves masters, off Cape Clear. His lordship, considering that the East India trade were not yet arrived from Ireland, appointed three ships of his squadron to see them safe from thence.

On the 21st of February, the Kent brought into Plymouth a small privateer, and a French merchant-ship; as the Restauration, and August did the next day four more, which were bound from Nantz to Martinico; and not many days after, his lordship appointed the Restauration and August, to see two East India ships well into the sea; but, by contrary winds, they were forced back again. The 10th of March, the Montague took a privateer of ten guns, and his lordship having seen the East India ships, and those bound to the Isle of May, a hundred and fifty leagues from Scilly, returned to Plymouth the 9th of May; seven days after which, the Lyon, Colchester, and Litchfield, brought in four prizes, two of them privateers, the others merchant-ships; when his lordship leaving the squadron, came to town, after having acquired as much reputation as it was possible for an officer to do in that difficult station, and where many had lost the credit for which they had toiled many years.

Before I proceed to the events in the West Indies, I shall take notice of some accidents that happened in our naval affairs, and which seem to have escaped the attention of most, if not all our historians. In the first place, I am to observe, that in the latter end of June, her Majesty's ship the Fowey, of thirty-two guns, was taken in the Mediterranean, by two French men of war of greater strength. On the 23d of September, Captain Hanway, in her Majesty's ship the Plymouth, of sixty guns, arrived at Plymouth with a French man of war, which he had taken on the 20th. Captain Hanway was bound to Plymouth, in order to repair some damages he had received; and about seven leagues N. W. by N. from the Deadman, he saw this ship, and chaced her two hours before he came up with her; as soon as he came near enough to engage, he fired upon her with great vigour, and after a sharp action, which lasted above an hour, he obliged her to surrender. The French ship was called L'Adriad, and had been fitted out from Dunkirk, commanded by the Sieur Jacques Cashard, having forty guns mounted, but had ports for forty-eight, and two hundred and sixty men on board; several of the men belonging to the Plymouth being sick on shore, Captain Hanway could make use of no more guns in this action than the enemy's ship had mounted. The captain of the French vessel, with fourteen other officers and seamen, were killed in the engagement, and sixty wounded; of the Plymouth's company, the captain of a company of marines on board, and seven men, were killed, and sixteen wounded.

In the latter end of the month of October, the West India fleet, being about one hundred and fifty leagues off the Lizard, met with a violent storm, by which they were separated from five ships of war, appointed for their convoy; the Newcastle, which was one of them, being so shattered, that she lost her main-mast, and with much difficulty got to Falmouth; soon after, the Hampshire and the Gloucester were attacked by the squadron of M. Du Guai Trouin, and made a gallant defence, notwithstanding the great inequality of force; which, however, gave the ships under their convoy an opportunity to escape. At last, after seven hours fight, the Gloucester, a sixty-gun ship, and just rebuilt, was taken; but the Hampshire obliged the enemy to sheer off, and in a very shattered condition got into Baltimore. On Christmas Day, the Solebay man of war, with eight merchant-ships under her convoy, bound to Lynn in Norfolk, were unfortunately lost upon Boston-Knock, and only two boats full of men saved out of all the ships. From these disagreeable accidents, let us now return to the conduct of Admiral Wager in the West Indies.

As this admiral had always been extremely careful of the trade in that part of the world, so, in the spring of the year 1709, he sent Captain Hutchins in the Portland, to protect the trading sloops that were going to Porto Bello. All the latter part of the month of April, Captain Hutchins lay in the Bastimentos; from whence he descried four large ships, two of fifty, and two of thirty guns, in the harbours of Porto Bello. The two largest, as he was informed by the private traders, were the Coventry, a fourth-rate, taken from us by the French, and the Minion, both from Guinea. On the 1st of May he had intelligence that they sailed the evening before; upon which he stood to the northward till the 3d, when he gained sight of them about eight in the morning. At noon, he discovered their hulls very plain, and they being to windward, bore down to him, firing some guns as they passed by; soon after which they wore, as if they designed to engage in the evening, but did not.

It was little wind, and about six o'clock he tacked upon them, and keeping sight all night, near eight in the morning he came up within pistol-shot of the Minion, but was obliged to fight her to leeward, because he could not possibly carry out his lee-guns, though the ships of the enemy did. The Coventry, after he had been warmly engaged, got on his lee-bow, and firing very smartly at his masts, did them no little damage; but he being not willing to be diverted from the Minion, plied her very smartly, nor could she get from him, until they shot his main-top-sail-yard in two, when both of them shot a-head, he creeping after them as fast as possible in that crippled condition; in the mean while, splicing his rigging, bending new sails, and repairing other damages in the best manner he could.

About four in the morning, a boat was perceived going from the Minion to the Coventry, so that he believed he had much disabled the former, and that by the frequent passing of the boat between them, she was sending the best part of her loading on board the other. By ten at night he had completed all his work, and the next morning was ready for a second encounter; but it proving little wind, he could not come up with them until the 6th, when, before seven in the morning, he was close in with the Coventry, which ship hauled up her main-sail, and lay by for him. Coming nearer to her, it was observed she had many small-shot men, so that he durst not clap her on board as he had designed, but plied her with his guns; in the mean time, he received but little damage from the Minion. Between eleven and twelve, he brought the Coventry's main-mast by the board, and then her fire was much lessened; however, continuing to do what they could, at half an hour past twelve she struck; the first captain being killed, the second wounded, and a great slaughter made among the men, many of them being those who belonged to the Minion; whereas of ours there were but nine killed, and twelve wounded, most of whom recovered; and in the prize, there were about twenty thousand pieces of eight, great part whereof were found among the French seamen.

Rear-admiral Wager, upon the pressing solicitation of the merchants, sent the Severn and Scarborough to England, to convoy home the trade, because they were but weakly manned, and according to the orders he had from the lord high-admiral, when any ships under his command were so reduced by sickness, as to have no more men on board than were necessary to navigate the ship, these ships were to be sent home; and the reason of this was, that by an act of parliament which passed soon after Commodore Ker's affair, our admirals were absolutely restrained from pressing men on any account in the West Indies; so that, in truth, there was nothing left for an admiral to do in such a case, but to send home ships that were of no further use. All the time the rear-admiral continued in this station, he took care to keep a sufficient number of ships to cruize upon the enemy, and to protect our trade, which they did with all the success that could be wished or expected. But in the autumn, our admiral was ordered home; and accordingly he left the few men of war that were stationed on the coast of Jamaica under the command of Captain Tudor Trevor, who was soon after relieved by Captain Span. As for the rear-admiral, he had a safe and speedy voyage home, where he was received on his coming from St. Helen's, in the month of November, with all the respect imaginable; the letters from the West Indies having, contrary to custom, done the greatest honour to the vigilance of our navy in those parts, while under his direction; which is a clear confutation of a modern maxim at a certain board, that it is impossible to satisfy the merchants at home, or the planters abroad.

Before I close this account of our affairs in America, it is necessary I should say something of a misfortune that befel us in Newfoundland; and the rather, because none of our historians have been particular about it, for which reason, I am obliged to take what I have to relate, entirely upon the credit of a French writer. The Sieur De Saintovide, the king's lieutenant at Placentia, took the fort of St. John on the east side of Newfoundland, by scalade, in which action the governor was wounded, and made prisoner, as were the soldiers of the garrison, consisting of about a hundred men. This, my author says, happened on the 1st of January, 1709, and the next day he informs us, that the fort at the mouth of the harbour, built on a rock, and extremely well fortified, surrendered also, and the garrison, consisting of sixty men, were made prisoners of war. This affair must have been attended with very bad consequences for the present; but, as we shall see, these were not only remedied in the succeeding year, but the French settlements, in their turn, were, in a manner, totally destroyed. But it is now time for us to return home, and to conclude the history of this year with a short account of the alterations made with respect to the management of naval affairs.

The earl of Pembroke, finding the sole care and direction of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, though he had discharged his office of lord high-admiral in every respect to the general content of all parties, very prudently and virtuously resolved to lay it down. A great deal of pains were taken to divert his lordship from this resolution, but to no purpose; he thought the business might be better done by one who had greater experience in maritime affairs; and thereupon, this high office was offered to that gallant sea-officer the earl of Orford, who absolutely refused it, though he was willing to accept a share in the direction of the Admiralty. Her Majesty, therefore, in the beginning of the month of November, thought proper to direct a commission, whereby she constituted and appointed Edward earl of Orford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, and Paul Methuen, Esqrs. commissioners, for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, on whom the queen bestowed a yearly pension of three thousand pounds *per annum*, payable out of the revenue of the Post-office, in consideration of his eminent services.

Soon after this alteration, there followed a promotion; *viz.* on the 12th of November, 1709, her Majesty being pleased to appoint a gentleman who had been long laid aside; *viz.* Matthew Aylmer, Esq. admiral and commander-in-chief of her Majesty's fleet; the Lord Dursley vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, Esq. rear-admiral of the red. Sir John Jennings admiral; Sir Edward Whitaker vice-admiral of the white. And, Sir John Norris, admiral; and John Baker, Esq. vice-admiral of the blue.

The parliament met, and the queen laid before them the proceedings of the last year, and directed an account of the expences of the government, both civil and military, to be sent them from the respective offices. The business of Dr. Sacheverel took up the best part of the session; but it happened luckily, that the supplies were first granted, amounting in the whole to six millions one hundred and eighty-four thousand one hundred and sixty-six pounds seven shillings; in order to the raising of which, a lottery was established, of one million five hundred thousand pounds, of which six hundred thousand pounds were subscribed on the 20th of January, being the first day the books were opened, and all the rest in less than six weeks.* This was sufficient to shew the strength of public credit at that time, as also the disposition of the commons, to continue the war till the ends of it were answered; but, after Sacheverel's trial, it was soon perceived, that this ardour began to abate, which we find attributed by our historians to many different causes.

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* These immense grants of parliament struck the French prodigiously; for while their credit was low, or in a manner quite gone, ours was in its zenith. And, without question, if ever our credit should fail, either in respect to money, or the reputation of our government, the French will gain as great an ascendancy over us, as we then had over them; this we mention as a point

The chief, however, seems to have been the management of the French king, who, by publishing to all the world the mighty offers of peace that he had made to the allies, and dressing up in the strongest colours the hard conditions which the allies would have imposed upon him, and with which he declared he would have complied, if they had not appeared impossible, and calculated rather to prevent, than promote the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe. By these representations, he raised great compassion among the neutral powers, excited divisions among the allies, and caused great jealousies and heart-burnings, both here and in Holland. This did not hinder our ministry from pursuing their former schemes, and endeavouring to restore a martial spirit, by the success of their designs on all sides; and as they had hitherto found their conduct most liable to be attacked on the subject of the war in Spain, they took all imaginable care to issue very early the sums granted for that service, which amounted to about a million; but it was resolved, since there was no immediate occasion for great fleets in the Mediterranean, to recall Sir Edward Whitaker, and to leave Admiral Baker, with a small squadron, to protect the trade, and obey the orders of King Charles III.*

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worthy of strict consideration here, because in France it is but too well understood already.

* As I have been hitherto very particular in relation to the war in Spain, which we certainly carried on with great vigour, though under infinite disadvantages, I shall here lay before the reader, at once, the several sums granted for this service:

Matthew Aylmer, Esq. admiral of the fleet, being in the Soundings with a considerable force, saw all the several fleets of our outward-bound merchantmen safe into the sea, and having sent them forward on their respective voyages, upon the 27th of July, he remained cruizing for two days afterwards, about sixty-eight leagues S. W. by W. from the Lizard. On the 29th at noon, he discovered thirteen sail N. E. of him. He ordered the Kent, Assurance, and York, to chace a-head, and followed with the rest of the ships under his command; but the weather proving hazy, he could not discover next morning more than one merchant ship. He received advice, however, before noon, that the Assurance had made prize of one of the enemy's vessels, upon which he immediately sent his boat to bring the master of her on board him; which was accordingly done.

This Frenchman informed the admiral, that the ships he had seen the day before, were fourteen merchantmen, bound for the Banks of Newfoundland, and Martinico, under convoy of the Superbe, a French man of war of fifty-six guns, and the Concord of thirty: that the former, having seen them into the sea, was to cruize in the Soundings, and the latter to proceed to Guinea; and that, on their perceiving the English fleet, the Concord bore away with the merchantmen under his convoy. Soon after this the Kent, commanded by Captain Robert Johnson, came up with, and engaged the Superbe, for the space of

	£.	s.	d.
In 1703	215,692	2	0
1704	320,481	11	0
1705	476,727	15	10
1706	726,740	15	10
1707	998,322	11	10
1708	1,248,956	12	2½
1709	1,217,083	0	4
1710	1,276,035	16	2
	6,480,010	5	2½

an hour, when she struck; in which action Captain Johnson behaved like a gallant officer, and an experienced seaman; for, as he attacked the French ship without waiting for other ships, so she was taken by him without any assistance, although she had a greater number of men than the Kent. Both of them were very much shattered in the fight; but so good a sailer was the Superbe, that, had she not been three months off the ground, she would in all probability have escaped. This ship had taken several valuable prizes from us before, and our cruisers had often chaced her without success; but falling thus into our possession, she was registered in the British navy, being a very beautiful vessel, and not above eighteen months old.

Sir Edward Whitaker was at Port Mahon with his squadron, when he received the order before-mentioned, and sailing from thence on the 27th of March, he arrived at Lisbon on the 4th of April, with three ships of the third rate, where he made some stay, in order to take the homeward-bound merchantmen under his protection; and then sailing on the 29th of that month, he arrived safely on the 1st of June with our own, and the Dutch and Portugal fleets, and their convoys, in our channel. As for Vice-admiral Baker, having conducted the transports to the several ports to which they were bound, he, in his return to Barcelona, got sight, off the Faro of Messina, of four large ships, with several settees under their convoy; this was on the 2d of May, and he chaced them with all the diligence possible. The next morning Captain Masters, in the Fame came up with, and took one of the ships, and soon after Captain Cleveland, in the Suffolk, took another, called Le Galliard, of fifty-six guns; but the remaining two, which were gallies, escaped, with most of the settees. The vice-admiral having seen the transports safe into Barcelona, and having received advice, that Sir John Norris, with a squadron under his command, was at Terragona, and that he was come to command in the Mediterranean, resolved to join him as soon as possible, in order to execute any orders he brought with him from England, or to contribute, as far as in his power lay, to the support of King Charles's affairs, which were now in a more flourishing condition than they had been for some years past. We will take notice next of Admiral Norris's instructions, and of what, in pursuance of them, he performed during the time he commanded in these parts.

The grand fleet designed for this year's service in the Mediterranean, sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of January, under the command of Sir John Norris, who having seen the Virginia, and other merchantmen bound to the West Indies, safe into the sea, arrived at Port Mahon on the 13th of March, where he was joined by Sir Edward Whitaker, and a Dutch rear-admiral. Immediately after his arrival, he detached three English, and two Dutch men of war, with the public money, recruits, and ammunition, to Barcelona, in order to receive his Catholic Majesty's commands. While the admiral remained here, he had the mortification of hearing, that two of our men of war had been taken by the French; with this alleviating circumstance, however, that both officers and men had behaved bravely, and that the misfortune was entirely owing to the enemy's having a superior force.

Not long after, he received more welcome intelligence; *viz.* that two of our ships had taken a French man of war of sixty guns, called the Moor, a very fine ship, and which was afterwards registered in the list of our royal navy. After making the necessary dispositions for the many services that were required from the fleet, Sir John sailed on the 7th of April, from Port Mahon, and arrived on the 11th at Barcelona. There he was informed by the king of Spain, that the enemy had a design, either upon Sardinia or Naples, and that the Duke De Tursis, a Genoese nobleman, who commanded a fleet of gallies for the service of King Philip, was at sea, in order to execute this enterprise. His Majesty likewise informed him, that he was in great want of the German succours, that were promised him from Italy. The admiral resolved to do his best towards answering both these demands of his Catholic Majesty, and having first landed the viceroy in Sardinia, where he found all things quiet, he proceeded to the coast of Italy, in order to embark the succours before-mentioned. On the 6th of May, Sir John Norris arrived at Leghorn, and having there provided for the security of our Levant trade, which was much disturbed by Monsieur De L'Aigle; he sailed from thence to Vado Bay, where, while the Germans were embarking, he had intelligence, that the Italian gallies had actually taken on board a body of upwards of two thousand men, in order to make a descent on the island of Sardinia.

Upon this, Sir John Norris called a council of war, and in pursuance of the resolutions taken there, he, on the 1st of June detached four men of war to convoy the transports to Barcelona; he likewise detached five English and four Dutch men of war, to cruize in the height of Toulon, for a convoy which the French expected from the Levant. The same day he sailed with the rest of the confederate fleet, with two imperial regiments, to go to the assistance of Sardinia, upon certain advice, that the Duke De Tursis was sailed with his gallies, and, as we observed before, some land-forces on board, to invade that island. The 2d they came before La Bastida, in Corsica, and saw a little French merchant ship coming from the Archipelago, which, upon the approach of our fleet, retired under the cannon of that place; upon this, Admiral Norris sent some boats which brought away the ship, but the men made their escape on shore. A bark coming from the shore, brought the admiral advice, that the Duke De Tursis, having continued some days at Porto Vecchio, was sailed to Bonifacio, with a design to execute his intended enterprise against Sardinia; whereupon they sailed again; on the 5th came into the Bay of Terra Nova, in Sardinia, wherein they found four tartanes of the enemy, which had landed there four hundred men, and sixty officers, under the command of the Count De Castillo. They took in the evening of the same day, those four ships, and understanding by the prisoners, that the count, with his forces, was but two miles off upon that shore, the admirals resolved to land some forces to attack them, which was accordingly done. They marched directly to Terra Nova, where the enemy were posted; but the Count De Castillo seeing it was in vain for him to offer any resistance, surrendered at discretion; so that they took four hundred and fifty soldiers prisoners, with sixty-three officers, and several persons of quality, natives of Sardinia; who, being disaffected to the German government, had joined the enemy, or had gone with the Count De Castillo in this expedition, in hopes that their interest would occasion an insurrection in favour of King Philip V.

Their enterprise having succeeded beyond expectation, and there being no danger of any rebellion on that side, the troops returned on board, the 7th, and the admirals resolved to go in quest of the Duke De Tursis, who, according to the report of the prisoners, was sailed to another bay, on the opposite side of the island, to land the rest of his forces. On the 8th, they came, by favour of a fresh gale, into the canal of Bonifacio, where they were informed, by a Neapolitan felucca, that the Duke De Tursis, was sailed the night before from thence, with intention to retire into the Gulf of Ajazzio, in Corsica; whereupon they made all the sail they could, in hopes of coming up with him in that bay; but in the morning of the 9th, when they came into the same, they were informed that the Duke De Tursis, foreseeing they would pursue him, was sailed thence the night before, with his gallies, having left in this gulf eight large barks, with five hundred soldiers on board, and the greatest part of his ammunition, artillery, and provisions, in hopes that they would not take them in a neutral place.

But Sir John Norris thought fit to seize them, and signified to the republic of Genoa, that the queen of Great Britain, his mistress, could not but express on all occasions, the highest resentment against them, for having permitted the Duke De Tursis, one of their subjects, to make, in their dominions, such an armament designed against one of the kingdoms belonging to the king of Spain her ally; and that, looking upon their permission or connivance as a breach of their neutrality, he would attack the queen's enemies in all their harbours. The Genoese governor, to whom these representations were made, answered with as much submission as could be expected; promised that he would not supply the Duke De Tursis, or any that belonged to him, with provisions; and most earnestly requested, that the admiral would not land any troops upon the island. The admiral having considered his request, and being sensible that it would be to very little purpose to attempt following the enemy into the mountains, thought proper to grant it, and thereupon proceeded immediately for Barcelona, where he arrived on the 18th of June; and the king of Spain desiring that part of the troops might be landed in Valencia, and that the fleet might be as soon as possible at Terragona, it was resolved to sail thither directly, and to leave orders for Vice-admiral Baker to follow; which orders, he punctually obeyed.

The inhabitants of the Cevennes having given the king of France a great deal of disturbance, and having numbers of their countrymen in foreign service, it was proposed to the British ministry, that notwithstanding the miscarriage of former attempts, something should be again undertaken in their favour; and to enforce this advice, it was observed, that the Camisars, then in arms, were within fifteen leagues of Montpelier, and that it was possible to land our troops at Port Cette, within a single league of that city. Upon this, the ministry themselves, conceiving such an expedition might disconcert the enemies' designs in Spain, or at least facilitate King Charles's enterprises in Catalonia, resolved to send a gentleman to Spain, thoroughly instructed as to the whole of this affair, with orders to propose it to General Stanhope, and Sir John Norris, upon whose approbation, and the consent of the king of Spain, the design was to be immediately put in execution, by the fleet then on the coast of Catalonia. It must be allowed, that this project was very well formed; and, according to the best information that I have been able to obtain, if our troops had actually fixed themselves for three days at Cette, we might, with the assistance of the duke of Savoy, have given the French king more trouble than he had ever met with from any of our projects during the war. For his own subjects, then in arms against him, were a bold, daring, hardy people, and, with a very little encouragement from us, would have formed an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, to whom all the French exiles, in every part of Europe, would have resorted; and, as among them there were many experienced officers, it is not easy to conceive, what consequences this affair might have had, or to what extent the flame might have spread.

On the arrival of this gentleman from England, General Stanhope, who was a very enterprising officer, eagerly embraced the scheme, and prevailed upon King Charles to permit a body of troops, though indeed it was but a very small one, to embark on board the fleet. This resolution being taken, was communicated to Sir John Norris, who, on the 6th of July, held a great council of war, in which it was resolved, to send an express to the duke of Savoy, and to embark the forces immediately, that an affair of such importance might not suffer by delay. The command of these troops, which consisted of no more than the regiment of Colonel Stanhope, and three hundred men from Port Mahon, was given to Major-general Seissan, a native of Languedoc, and a very good officer. The fleet sailed from Barcelona on the 9th, and arrived before Cette on the 19th. The next morning, by break of day, the troops, which were but seven hundred men, and who had landed the evening before, without any opposition, marched directly towards the town. Sir John Norris appointed some ships to batter the fort at the mole-head, upon which the inhabitants retired to the church, and soon after both town and fort surrendered; as in the evening of the next day did the town of Agde; so that now we had firm footing in the enemy's country: and this expedition had a more promising appearance than any that had been hitherto undertaken against France; our only misfortune was, that there were so few men spared for so important a design.

On the 17th, Major-general Seissan received advice, that the duke of Roquelaure was advancing with four hundred dragoons, and four thousand militia, to ford the lake, and re-possess Cette; upon which the major-general thought proper to leave a hundred and forty men to secure the bridge of Agde, and marched with the rest of the forces to oppose the enemy; writing at the same time to the Admirals Norris and Sommelsdyke, to desire them to send all the boats of the fleet, with as many men as they could spare, into the Etang or Lake, to attack the enemy in their passage through the same; which was done accordingly. The duke of Roquelaure, seeing his design prevented by these precautions, returned to Meze, and the admirals and general detached a major, with a hundred and fifty men to reinforce the detachment left to secure the bridge of Agde; but, at the same time advice came, that this important post had been abandoned upon a false alarm. Nevertheless, it was resolved to prevent the enemy, and to return to Agde with shallops by sea, in order to regain that post; but the very moment that this was to be executed, a strong wind happened to rise, which obliged them to abandon that design, and direct all their care to secure Cette.

In short, the Duke De Noailles, arrived at Agde, the same day that they were to return thither. They began then to think of the defence of the mountain of Cette, and posted there the few troops they had in the vineyards, surrounded with a slight wall; but with orders to retire, yet not before the arrival of the enemy. The officer, who commanded fifty men, did not rightly apprehend this order, or else he was surprised; for scarcely had a few French dragoons fired upon our men, before they surrendered to them at discretion. The other troops retired in disorder, though the necessary dispositions had been made to support them in their retreat, and the several officers did all that could be expected from their courage and experience to rally the troops. While these were re-embarking on the 17th, a captain was left in the fort, with fifty men to cover the retreat. It was not accessible, but on the side of the mole, and was defended by two pieces of cannon in the place that leads to it; and besides, the enemy had no boats. The shallops were just by the fort the whole morning; but Admiral Norris had no sooner put off to go on board his ship, but the enemy sent word to the captain, that if he did not immediately surrender the fort, he must expect no quarter. Whereupon the officer let down the bridge, and surrendered at discretion, even before the troops were re-embarked. The Duke De Roquelaure sent them back the captain who had so ill defended the fort, in exchange for a burgher who had been released before; but the captain was set a-shore again, and told, that since he had been so complaisant to De Roquelaure, as to deliver up the fort to him, it was but reasonable he should be near the duke's person, and treated according to his merit.

Thus ended an expedition, from which much was expected, and which had no other good effect, except obliging the enemy to recall a considerable body of their troops from Roussillon; in doing this the Duke De Noailles made a very remarkable march, of which the French have boasted excessively. Sir John Norris having re-embarked the forces, sailed on the 19th, and shewed himself off Toulon and Marseilles; some days after, he stood into the road of Hieres, where he discovered a French fly-boat, carrying fifty guns, under three forts, upon the island of Port Croix; upon which he instantly detached some English and Dutch frigates, under the command of Captain Stepney, to attack both the ship and the fortresses. This was performed with great vigour, and in a short time the ship was abandoned, and the lowest of the three forts; upon this our boats rowed hastily to board the vessel, into which our men had scarcely entered, before the ship, by a train laid for that purpose by the enemy, was blown up, and thirty-five of our people either killed or wounded. This misfortune was soon followed by another; for our ships that were cruising off Toulon, being distressed for water, sailed to an adjacent island for a supply, and in the mean time a great corn fleet, for which they were waiting, took that opportunity to enter the port of Toulon.

On the 14th of August, Sir John Norris returned to Port Mahon, where he received the welcome news of the great victory of Sarragossa. He then expected to have sailed on an expedition for the service of his Catholic Majesty; but was disappointed, partly through some delay made by the troops in embarking, and partly by the haste the Dutch were in to return home; so that, finding it impracticable to do any further service for the present, he ordered most of his ships to be cleaned; which being performed, he sailed on the 30th of October from Port Mahon, and on the 6th of November he took three French ships from Newfoundland. After this, he secured the Turkey fleet, and then attempted to annoy the enemy in the Bay of Roses, where he met with such a storm, as drove the Resolution on shore, on the coast of Catalonia, near to Barcelona, where she was lost, notwithstanding all imaginable care to prevent it, and the rest of the fleet was forced into the harbour of Port Mahon.

His Catholic Majesty's affairs had by this time taken a new and unfavourable turn, and therefore his Majesty wrote in pressing terms to Sir John Norris, in order to engage him to sail over to the Italian coast, to bring, with the utmost expedition, such troops as could be spared from thence for his service. Sir John sailed from Barcelona, and arrived on the 19th of March in the Bay of Vado; on the 22d following, the Severne, Lion, and Lime, made the signal of seeing four ships; upon which the admiral ordered the Nassau and Exeter to give them chace, and upon hearing a great firing of guns, detached the Dartmouth and Winchelsea to their assistance. On the 27th, the Severne and Lime came into the road, and Captain Pudner, who commanded the former, gave Sir John Norris an account, that, in conjunction with the Lion and Lime, he had, the day before, engaged four French ships, from sixty to forty guns, for above two hours, and then the French crowded all the sail they could, and made away; the Severne, being disabled, returned with the Lime into Vado road; but Captain Galfridus Walpole, who commanded the Lion, continued the chace, though he had his right arm shot away, about forty men killed and wounded, and his ship much torn by the enemy's shot. The Exeter, commanded by Captain

Raymond, came up with one of the Frenchmen, and, after a brisk engagement of above two hours, took her; but he was so disabled, that he was forced to let her go again. She proved to be the Pembroke, which had been taken from us a year before, that was, while in our service, a sixty-gun ship; but at this time she mounted no more than fifty.

Sir John having given the necessary directions for embarking the troops on board an hundred and twenty transports, in order to escort them to Barcelona, received advice, while he was waiting for a wind, that Sir John Jennings was arrived at Port Mahon, in order to command in the Mediterranean. We have already, contrary to our usual method, carried this part of the history beyond the bounds of the year 1710, which was occasioned by a desire of preserving perspicuity, which otherwise could not have been so well done; and, for the same reason, we shall proceed with Sir John Norris's conduct, though it will carry us almost to the close of the year 1711: which, however, is better than breaking the thread of the narration, to resume it again at a great distance of time; and this, too, when all that can be said about it will fall within a very narrow compass.

He sailed from Vado for Port Mahon, in April; but was forced by a storm into the road of Arasio, where, with great difficulty, he procured forage for the horses, and where he lay wind-bound till the 4th of May, and then proceeded to Barcelona, arrived there, and landed the troops on the 8th, where, having consulted with the duke of Argyle, and taken care to send a strong squadron to Genoa for the public money, he thought next of proceeding home with the Turkey trade; and, with that view, ordered Captain Cornwall to escort them to Gibraltar, or Lisbon, and there wait for his arrival. This being performed, he followed them as soon as the king of Spain's affairs would permit; and sailing with them under his convoy from Lisbon on the 15th of September, he arrived with them off the Isle of Wight the 8th of October, 1711, with four ships of the third rate, seven of the fourth, three of the fifth, two bomb-vessels, two store-ships, and an hospital ship; and from thence held on his course to the Downs, leaving the command of the fleet that continued in the Mediterranean to Sir John Jennings, of whose proceedings we shall speak in their proper place; but, at present, it is requisite that we should give an account, as we promised, of the expedition set on foot for restoring our affairs in Newfoundland.

The check we had received the year before, had given the ministry great disquiet. They found themselves, at this juncture, in a very critical situation, and were therefore under a kind of necessity of providing against any new clamours, which they were sensible would be set up, in case the French were not effectually rooted out in a place which so nearly affected our merchants, and upon which their commerce with Spain, Portugal, and Italy, so much depended. In order, therefore, to provide in the best manner possible for so important an undertaking, they made choice of two officers of great worth and experience, one of them to command the squadron, the other the land forces that were to be put on board it. The former was Captain George Martin, and the latter, Colonel Francis Nicholson, who was sent to Boston in New England, in order to provide every thing necessary for the expedition, and to draw together such forces as could be spared from that colony, so that they might be able to embark as soon as the squadron should arrive.

This squadron consisted of the Dragon, a fifty-gun ship, commanded by Captain George Martin; the Falmouth, of fifty guns, by Captain Walter Ryddel; the Leostoff, of thirty-two guns, by Captain George Gordon; the Feversham, of thirty-six guns, by Captain Robert Paston, and the Star bomb-ketch, by Captain Thomas Rochfort; to which was afterwards added, the Chester, a fifty-gun ship, commanded by Captain Thomas Matthews. Captain Martin arriving in New England, found all things properly adjusted for the execution of this enterprise against the French settlement, without delay; in consequence of which, he proceeded from Nantasket road the 18th of September, with the Dragon, Falmouth, Leostoff, Feversham, and Star bomb-vessel, the Provence galley, two hospital-ships, thirty-one transports, and two thousand land forces, having sent the Chester before, to endeavour to intercept any supplies which the enemy might attempt to send to Port-Royal, in Nova Scotia; and on the 24th, in the afternoon, he anchored at the entrance of the harbour. A council of war was called, and, pursuant to what was agreed, the small embarkations and boats were gotten ready to receive the men, and put them on shore.*

Things being in this situation, on the 25th of September, about six in the morning, Colonel Vetch, and Colonel Reading, with fifty men each, together with Mr. Forbes, the engineer, went on shore to view the ground for landing the troops; and soon after Colonel Nicholson himself, with a body of men, actually landed; the enemy firing at the boats in which they were, from their batteries of cannon and mortars, but with no great success. Colonel Vetch, with five hundred on the north side, so lined the shore, as that he protected the landing of the cannon, ammunition, and stores, and the mortar being fixed on board the bomb-vessel, she driving up with the tide of flood, within cannon shot of the fort, both that day and the next, bombarded the enemy therein, which did in a great measure induce them to capitulate, sooner than otherwise they would have done: not but that they were very much galled in the attempts made on them, and the warm fire from the artillery on shore; but on the 28th, 29th, and 30th, the bomb-vessel was not able to throw any shells, by reason of hard gales of wind.*

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* This expedition, which was one of the most fortunate that we had undertaken in this part of the world, owed its success in a great measure to the conduct of Colonel Francis Nicholson, who maintained a perfect agreement with Commodore Martin, and the rest of the sea officers, who, on their part, omitted nothing that was demanded for the use of the troops, and supported them very cordially upon all occasions, with their boats and men. Another thing that contributed not a little to this happy event was, the troops being seasoned that were sent upon this expedition, and having officers well acquainted, not only with their duty, but with the climate, and situation of places; which, in affairs of this nature, are circumstances of the utmost consequence.

At a council of war, held on the 1st of October, two letters, which were received from Monsieur Subercase, directed to Colonel Nicholson, were taken into consideration, together with the answers which he had made thereunto; and the preliminaries being agreed on, the governor marching out of the fort, with the garrison,† our troops took possession of it

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* It may not be amiss to remark here, that this place, now Annapolis, has a very fine bason, capable of holding a large fleet; that it commands a valuable country, which settled, would prove a cover and protection to New England; and that it was at this juncture a nest of French privateers, and thence styled their American Dunkirk. These circumstances shew the value of this conquest.

† This capitulation is worth the reader's notice, inasmuch as it contains the terms upon which we were put in possession of the province of Acadia, as the French call it, or, as we style it, the province of Nova Scotia. The articles were,

1. That the garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying.

2. That there shall be a sufficient number of ships and provisions to transport the said garrison to Rochelle, or Rochfort, by the shortest passage; where they shall be furnished with passports for their return.

3. That I, Colonel Nicholson, may take out six guns, and two mortars, such as I shall think fit.

4. That the officers shall carry out all their effects of what sort soever; except they do agree to the selling of them, the payment of which to be *bona fide*.

5. That the inhabitants, within cannon shot of the fort of Port-Royal, shall remain upon their estates, with their corn, cattle, and furniture, during two years, in case they are not desirous to

soon after, with drums beating, and colours flying; where hoisting the Union flag, they, in honour of her Majesty, called the place Annapolis Royal; and a sufficient number of men being left therein, the ships and troops proceeded to New England as soon as all things necessary were settled; from whence Captain Martin departed, not long after, in order to put in execution the remaining part of his instructions, and prepare for his return to England.

These were not all the misfortunes that befel the French in this part of the world, for our men of war and privateers took this year near fifty of their ships. The Portland and the Valeur took, in their passage

go before; they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to her sacred Majesty of Great Britain.

6. That a vessel be provided for the privateers belonging to the islands of America, for their transportation thither.

7. That those that are desirous to go for Placentia, in Newfoundland, shall have leave by the nearest passage.

8. That the Canadians, or those that are desirous to go thither, may, during the space of one year.

9. That the effects, ornaments, utensils of the chapel and hospital, shall be delivered to the almoner.

10. I promise to deliver the fort of Port Royal into the hands of Francis Nicholson, Esq. for the queen of Great Britain, &c. within three days after the ratification of this present treaty; with all the effects belonging to the king, as guns, mortars, bombs, balls, powder, and all other small arms.

11. I will discover, upon my faith, all the mines, fougasses, and casemates.

12. All the articles of this present treaty shall be executed upon good faith, without difficulty, and signed by each other, at her Majesty of Great Britain's camp, before Port-Royal fort, the second day of October, in the ninth year of her Majesty's reign, *annoque Domini* 1710. FRANCIS NICHOLSON.
SUBERCASE.

Memorandum. The general declared, that within cannon shot of Port-Royal, in the fifth article aforesaid, is to be understood, three English miles round the fort, to be henceforward called Annapolis Royal; and the inhabitants within the said three miles to have the benefit of that article. Which persons, male and female, comprehended in the said article, according to a list of their names given in to the general by Mr. Allen, amount to four hundred and eighty-one persons.

to Newfoundland, two very rich prizes, value thirty thousand pounds. But not long after, the Valeur was surprised in harbour, and taken by the French, and in the month of August, Captain John Aldred, in the Rochester; Captain Humphrey Pudner, in the Severne; and Captain George Purvis, in the Portland; visited all the French harbours on the north side of Newfoundland, and in a manner totally destroyed them. Of all these transactions, however, the accurate Father Daniel says not one word; and, indeed, as to the latter part of this relation, Mr. Burchet is silent also, though it was certainly of very great consequence to the trade and interest of Great Britain.*

We are now to return home, in order to take notice of what happened here, relating to the affairs of the navy; and as these are commonly influenced by a total change in the ministry, it may not be amiss to observe, that, in the beginning of the month of August, the earl of Godolphin was removed from being lord high-treasurer, and that high office was put into commission. This great change was quickly followed by others of the same nature; for, about six weeks after, Edward earl of Orford having resigned his place of first lord-commissioner of the Admiralty, the queen appointed Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Doddington, Esq. Paul Methuen, Esq. and

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* AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXECUTION DONE BY THIS SQUADRON.

Harbours Names.	French Ships Names.	Men.	Guns.	Tons.	
La Couche	La Comtesse D'Evereux	75	16	200	taken.
Ditto	La Couronne	70	14	200	burnt.
Carouze	Le Marquis Du Bay	20	28	400	taken.
Ditto	Le Compte De Bonrepos	120	23	400	burnt.
Ditto	L'Aigle Noire	70	12	200	taken.
Petit Maitre	François Maire	80	18	250	taken.
Great St. Julien	François De la Paix	120	30	400	taken.
Little St. Julien	St. Pierre	90	20	290	escaped.
Ditto	——	30	12	——	ditto.

All the fish, oil, stages, vatts, boats, fishing tackle, &c. of the above-mentioned ships fell into our hands, and were either taken or destroyed by us. And the two ships which escaped, left even their anchors and cables, and some of their sails behind.

John Aislabie, Esq. lords-commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain. But this commission did not continue long in this situation, for in the month of December, Sir James Wishart, and George Clarke, Esq. were appointed lords-commissioners of the Admiralty, in the room of George Doddington, and Paul Methuen, Esqrs.

The new parliament met on the 25th of November, and, on the 27th, the commons chose William Bromley, Esq. of Worcestershire, for their Speaker. The queen, in her speech from the throne, recommended the carrying on the war in very pathetic terms, and the commons, in their address, promised her Majesty to take proper care of it. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, they voted 40,000 men for the sea service, for the year 1711, and 120,000*l.* for the ordinary of the navy; on the 10th of February they voted, that the sum of 5,130,539*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* be granted for payment of the debts of the navy, and for services performed by them on account of land forces to Michaelmas 1710, exclusive of the register-office; and, on the 20th of the said month, they resolved that 103,303*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* be granted for the use of such proprietors, or inhabitants only, of Nevis and St. Christopher's, who were sufferers by the French invasion, and who have settled, or shall resettle their plantations in the said islands. I do not well know, whether I ought to add, as an instance of the care of parliament in respect to our commerce, that this year an act was passed for incorporating a company to carry on a trade to the South Seas. While these regulations were making by the legislature, her Majesty took care to provide for action; and in consequence thereof, appointed Sir John Leake, rear-admiral of Great-Britain, to be admiral and commander in chief of her fleet, in the room of Matthew Aylmer, Esq. at the same time she appointed Sir Thomas Hardy rear-admiral of the blue; and some time after Sir George Byng was made admiral of the white. These necessary circumstances premised, we may now proceed to the naval operations of the next year.

The grand fleet under the command of Sir John Leake, had very little to do. It was intended for the defence of our coast, and for keeping the enemy in awe, which was very effectually performed; for the French king, from the many misfortunes he had met with, was utterly incapable of equipping any capital ships; and therefore, contenting himself with sending out, as he had done for some years past, small squadrons to annoy our trade, he seemed no longer to look on France as a maritime power. Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue, was sent with a strong squadron, consisting of four fourth rates, two fifth, and two sixths, to block up the port of Dunkirk. On the 21st of May he arrived before that port, into which he forced two privateers of twenty guns each, and a dogger which carried eight; and this notwithstanding the enemy's fire from the plat-form at the pier-head. While he was in this situation, he discovered in the bason four sixty-gun ships, and two smaller vessels, all unrigged, and had certain information of a small squadron that was fitting there for the sea; after which he cruised as carefully as he could, as well for that, as for the convoy from Bretagne; but both, notwithstanding all his vigilance, escaped him.

On the 27th of June, an English man of war, called the Advice, commanded by Kenneth, Lord Duffus, was attacked in Yarmouth Roads, by several French privateers. His lordship engaged them with great bravery, and did not give up his ship, which was a fourth rate of forty-six guns, till all his sails were torn to pieces, not a brace or bowling left, the shrouds cut away, two thirds of his men killed and wounded, and his lordship had five balls in his body. The eight privateers that took him, brought the ship with great triumph into Dunkirk, where they most inhumanly stripped both officers and private men of their wearing apparel, and, but for the kindness of the inhabitants, had left them in a manner naked. Such was the brutal behaviour of these barbarous plunderers, and to such we must remain exposed, if that infamous nest of pirates, destroyed for the common safety of mankind, shall ever, through the weakness of our councils, be settled or fortified again.

On the 8th of August, Sir Thomas Hardy being in Yarmouth Roads, with his squadron, received orders to proceed as far northwards as the islands of Orkney, in order to secure the Russia trade, and to send some ships that were with him to the Downs; the Admiralty having received certain intelligence, that M. De Saus, a French officer, had actually got to sea from Dunkirk, with four large ships; *viz.* one of fifty guns, one of twenty-eight, one of twenty-six, and one of twenty-four: in pursuance of these orders, Sir Thomas saw the Russia fleet, which was remarkably rich that year, as far as Shetland; and then sending them forward with a proper convoy, he returned to the Downs, where he received orders to proceed westward, in quest of M. Du Casse. While our ships were thus employed, a misfortune befel us upon our own coast; for M. De Saus, with his privateers, fell in with our Virginia fleet which consisted of twenty-two sail, two of which were forced a-shore, four escaped, and all the rest were taken.

As soon as the news of this was carried to England, orders were sent to pursue the French squadron, and to prevent, if possible, their getting back to Dunkirk; but the Sieur Saus found means to rid himself of these attendants, though they were once within sight of him, and carried six of his prizes into Dunkirk, leaving the rest at Boulogne, Calais, and other ports on the coast. Our cruisers and privateers repaired, in some degree, this misfortune, by the depredations they committed on the coasts of France, from whence they brought a great number of small prizes, which, if they did not turn much to our benefit, were, however, a great prejudice to France, since most of them were laden with corn, and other provisions, of which at that juncture the people were in great need. But it is now time to return to the proceedings of our squadrons in the Mediterranean, where, as we have before shewn, Sir John Jennings commanded in chief, with a numerous fleet, of whose designs we shall now speak particularly, as they were the last that were formed during this war in those parts.

The affairs of King Charles had suffered so severely since the battle lost at Villa Viciosa, that even his best friends almost despaired of retrieving them. It was, however, resolved to send thither a large naval force, to assist in whatever measures might be thought proper, either for restoring his hopes, or providing for the safety of his person. The duke of Argyle commanded the English troops, with circumstances equally honourable to himself, and shameful to those who suffered so many brave men to fall under such heavy misfortunes. The army was but thin; and well it might be so, since General Stanhope had been besieged, and taken, with eight battalions, and as many squadrons, a few months before, in the miserable hamlet of Brihuega. But this was not all; the regiments, thin as they were, were also ragged and starving, having no credit but what his grace procured for them, who soon brought things into better order, and his very little army under good discipline. In short, he appeared there, what he appeared every where, not only a brave man and an active officer; not barely a great general, or an able statesman, but a friend to mankind, and a lover of his country. He fed the hungry, he clothed the naked, he stopped desertion; not by severities, but by convincing his soldiers that they could be used no where so well; insomuch that when Sir John Jennings arrived at Barcelona with his fleet, in the latter end of March, he found things on the mending hand. After performing some few necessary services, it was resolved, that the fleet should cruise off Toulon, in order to intercept the supplies which the enemy expected from Languedoc, and their corn-fleet from the Levant. While he was in this station, he received orders from England, to return immediately to the coast of Catalonia, that he might be ready to carry the king of Spain to Genoa, or where else he should desire; his Majesty, by the death of his brother, the Emperor Joseph, being lately become sole heir of all the dominions of the house of Austria. He was likewise directed to afford all the assistance possible to the kingdom of Naples, in case any commotion should happen there at this juncture; and accordingly he repaired to Barcelona, to consult his Majesty and the duke of Argyle, as to the properest method of executing these orders, having first detached two men of war of the third, one of the fourth, and one of the fifth rate, to cruise on the coast of Naples, with orders to assist the subjects of the house of Austria, if any attempts should be made for reducing the garrisons of Orbitello, or Piombino.

On his arrival there, he found the king not at all inclined to quit Catalonia, till such time as he had advice of his being elected emperor, in which he was promised all the assistance that could be afforded him by the high allies; and, on the other hand, he found his Majesty equally unwilling to part with this fleet, upon which all his hopes depended. Sir John Jennings contented himself, therefore, with sailing from Barcelona, on the 13th of July, for Port Mahon, where he arrived on the 18th, having first of all promised the king of Spain, to return assoon as the ships were refitted, and he had taken in a proper supply of provisions, which began to grow very scarce; and this promise he exactly performed by the 26th, when we find him again in the road of Barcelona, with one second, five third, and one fourth rate, besides seven

Dutch men of war, under the command of Vice-admiral Peiterson, having ten other ships, most of the line, abroad on necessary service. When these had joined him he took the king of Spain on board, having then a fleet of twenty-four ships of war, and landed him in ten days time at Genoa; from whence the admiral sailed to Leghorn, being in great want of cables and other stores, in order to procure such as the place would afford; and while he was there, two of our captains brought in two rich prizes from the Levant.

His excellency continued in that port to the 2d of November, when he sailed for Vado Bay, and having embarked the forces that were ready to proceed for Catalonia, he sent them under the protection of five men of war and two fire-ships, to Barcelona, under the command of Captain Swanton, with whose squadron, and three Dutch ships of war, the admiral sailed as far westward as Cape Roses; and was then to repair to Port Mahon, where Captain Swanton was ordered to join him, as soon as he had seen the transports in safety, that the admiral might be able to make a detachment for protecting the coasts of Portugal; as also some ships to cruise in the Straits' mouth, for the security of our trade. When the admiral had made the island of Minorca, the wind blew excessively hard from the north-east, which obliged him to come to an anchor on the north side of the island, where most of the ships sails blew away from their yards; but he got, however, the next day into Port Mahon. On his arrival he was informed, by the captains of two ships he found there, that they had heard a great firing of guns all the night before; upon which he sent the Chatham and Winchelsea, the next morning, to see what they could discover; who soon brought an account, that the Dutch vice-admiral, with his squadron, was in the offing, together with four British ships.

These ships of ours were the Hampton-Court, commanded by Captain Mighells; the Sterling-Castle, the Nottingham, the Charles galley, and the Lynn, which came from the coast of Catalonia, and in their passage had fallen in with two French men of war, the Thoulouse, and the Trident, each of fifty guns, and four hundred men. The Hampton-Court came up with the first of them, and engaged her two hours, to whose commander, by the time the Stirling-Castle was within musket-shot, which was about ten at night, she struck; but by the advantage of little winds, the Trident got away with her oars. The Hampton-Court's masts being much wounded in the fight, they, by the violence of the weather, came next day all by the board, so that she was towed into port by the Sterling Castle. The first captain of the Thoulouse, was M. Grand Pre, and the second captain Rigby, an Englishman, who had formerly bore command in our fleet. From the former of them the admiral accepted his parole of honour for six months; but the latter he detained, although M. Grand Pre assured him he was naturalized in France, and was become a Roman Catholic; but some way or other he found means to escape, and it was believed he got on board a ship bound for Genoa, which lay in the harbour of Mahon. About the same time, the Restoration, a ship of seventy guns, was lost on the back side of the Mallora, off Leghorn, but all her officers and men were saved; nor did it fall out better with a settee, that had on board to the value of four thousand crowns, which she was bringing from one of the ports of Corsica.

The French having at present no fleet in the Mediterranean, the admiral was at liberty to employ his ships in such a manner, as might best answer the purpose of protecting Catalonia, and incommoding the enemy; which he accordingly did, till towards the end of the year he received advice, that the French were busy at Toulon, in fitting out a considerable force, which was to put to sea in the spring, of which the admiral took all the care he could to be particularly informed, and at last received a certain account, that this squadron was to consist of eleven or twelve ships, of which eight were of the line, and three or four were frigates; that they were to proceed first to Cadiz, and from thence to the West Indies. Upon this, the admiral, on the 21st of February, held a council of war, in which, upon a strict examination, it was found, that the ships under his command, could not put to sea till supplied with provisions from Italy; and therefore a frigate was dispatched to Vice-admiral Baker, then at Lisbon, with this intelligence, that he might strengthen the convoy of the store-ships and victuallers sent from thence, and at the same time it was resolved, that as soon as the English and Dutch ships arrived from Italy, the admiral should cruise between Port Mahon and Cape De Gatt, not only for the protection of the convoy, but in order to intercept the enemy.

This necessary supply of provisions, and naval stores, arriving safe at Port Mahon, and the admiral having intelligence from all sides, of the great naval preparations of the enemy, it was determined in a council of war, held on the 11th of March, to put to sea with one second, three third, two fifth rate, and two fire ships of ours, and nine ships of the States-General, and to cruise ten or twelve leagues from Cape Toulon, until more certain advice of the enemy could be had. Captain Walpole, in the Lion, joining the fleet from Genoa, and informing them, that he had seen in his passage nine tall ships to the N. W. of the island of Minorca; it was resolved in a council of war, held on the 23d of March, to proceed to the southward of Majorca and Ivica, in order to intercept the enemy, if it was possible, between that and Cape St. Martin, in their passage down the Straits. Obtaining, however, no further intelligence, he came to an anchor on the first of April off the island of Formentara, from whence he sent two clean ships to look into the bays of Denea, Xabea, and Altea, as also into Alicant road; and in case they brought him no advice, it was determined to sail immediately to Barcelona. This was accordingly done, and on his arrival there, and hearing nothing of the French, he sent a clean frigate to look into the harbour of Toulon, in order to discover what they were doing there, with a resolution, upon the return of that ship, to proceed to Port Mahon, there to revictual, and then to stand over to the Italian coast, in order to bring from thence a new supply of troops to Catalonia.

We are now to proceed to an account of what was done this year in the West Indies, where, when we spoke last of affairs in those parts, we left Commodore Littleton with a strong squadron under his command. This gentleman was extremely well qualified for the station: he had all the abilities and experience that could be wished for in a sea-officer, and yet was as ready to ask, and receive advice, as if he had neither. On his first arrival in those parts, which was in the month of November, 1710, he took all the care that was possible, to obtain proper intelligence of the motions of the galleons, which were still at Carthagena; and at the same time he neglected nothing that the merchants thought requisite, either for the security of their trade in those parts, or for the safe convoy of such ships as from time to time were sent home; so that, during his stay at Jamaica, there were few or no complaints, but every body studied to mind his own business, and to discharge, when called upon, his duty in the public service.

The desire of taking the galleons, was what principally occupied the thoughts of the commodore, and as he was frequently perplexed with false intelligence, he stationed the Nonsuch and the Roebuck, on the Spanish coast, giving orders to Captain Hardy, who commanded the former, to dispatch the Roebuck to Jamaica, with any certain intelligence he could obtain, either as to the time when it was proposed the galleons should sail, or the strength of the convoy that was to accompany them. These orders were faithfully executed, though very little intelligence, except that the galleons had as yet no convoy, could, for many months, be procured.

In May, 1711, the commodore received an account from the masters of some vessels from Madeira, that M. Du Casse, with a squadron under his command, had been seen from that island. Soon after, a Spanish sloop was taken, in which was a letter from the governor of Carthagena, expressing his hopes, that M. Du Casse would shortly arrive with seven sail of stout ships, in order to convoy the galleons. Upon this, the commodore immediately sent an advice-boat to recall the Nonsuch, and, in the mean time, began to prepare for an expedition, resolving not to lose this opportunity of attacking the French squadron, and having a chance for making prize of some of the galleons.

The Jersey, commanded by Captain Vernon, was then cruizing to the windward of Jamaica, and having taken a French ship belonging to the port of Brest, which carried thirty guns, and one hundred and twenty men, he carried her into Jamaica, on the 23d of May. The captain of this vessel informed the commodore, that he had been trading on the coast of New Spain, from whence, proceeding to Port Lewis, in Hispaniola, where he put on shore the money he had taken, he was sailing from thence to Petit Guavas, in order to take in there a cargo for France, when he fell into the hands of Captain Vernon. He added, that he sailed from Port Lewis on the 20th, in company with M. Du Casse, who was gone for Carthagena, and that his squadron consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, another of sixty, one of fifty, one of twenty-four, and one of twenty; but Captain Hardy arriving on the 27th, assured Mr. Littleton, that two ships of the French squadron, one of which was the Gloucester, of fifty guns, formerly taken from us, and another of forty-four, arrived at Carthagena, ten days before, and waited for M. Du Casse, who designed, as soon as the galleons could be ready, to sail with them for the Havannah, and from thence to Cadiz.

Upon this, Captain Vernon was sent over to the coast of New Spain; and returning on the 4th of July, reported, that on the 28th of June, he had looked into the port of Carthagena, where he saw twelve ships, six rigged, and six unrigged, and five sloops; the six ships that were rigged, he informed the commodore, were the St. Michael, of seventy-four guns; the Hercules, of sixty; the Griffin, of fifty; two small frigates, and the vice-admiral of the galleons, which carried sixty guns: and that, of the ships that were unrigged, there were two at the upper end of the harbour, preparing for sea, one of which he believed to be the Minion, of fifty guns, and another of forty, the rest he took to be trading vessels.

Upon the 15th of July, the commodore sailed with one third-rate, four fourth rates, and a sloop for Carthagena; and arriving on the coast of New Spain on the 26th, he discovered five ships to the leeward, which he chaced into Boca Chica, at the entrance of Carthagena harbour. Upon this, he stood off to sea the greatest part of the night; but stretching in to the shore next morning, chaced four ships, and about six came up with the vice-admiral of the galleons, and a Spanish merchant ship; and as M. Du Casse had taken most of the money out of the galleon, having some suspicion of the commanding officer on board her; so was this very carrack the same which had escaped from Mr. Wager, as hath been before related; and coming from Carthagena, in company with some French ships of war, it happened she was separated from them, and believing our ships to be those with M. Du Casse, as her commander said, lay by the greatest part of the day, and when Mr. Littleton came near, hoisted Spanish colours, and a flag at the fore-top-mast-head, so that between five and six at night, the Salisbury's prize, commanded by Captain Robert Harland, engaged her; soon after which, the Salisbury, commanded by Captain Francis Hosier, did the same.*

The commodore being within pistol shot, was just going to fire into her when they struck their colours; and the Jersey, going after one of the merchant ships, took her; the Nonsuch chacing the other, she escaped in the night. The vice-admiral of the galleons, being wounded by a small shot, died soon after. M. Du Casse had taken most of the money out of the galleon, except what was found in some boxes which belonged to private persons. She had sixty brass guns mounted, and three hundred and twenty-five men; and the ship which the Jersey took, was a vessel belonging to the merchants, of about four hundred tons, and twenty-six guns, laden for the most part with cocoa and wool. The prisoners, by the description given to them of the ships which were seen by the commodore, the day he came off Carthagena, assured him, they were those with M. Du Casse, and that he had been out of Carthagena but two days, being separated from the Spanish vice-admiral, and nine merchant ships, the day after he came out; and since Mr. Littleton was well assured that he intended to touch at the Havannah, it was determined to cruize a little to the leeward of Point Pedro shoals, as the most proper place for intercepting them, until such time as further intelligence could be gained from Captain Hook, of the Jamaica sloop, who was sent over to the coast with some Spanish prisoners.

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* It is of consequence where we can come at such distinct relations as this is, for the use of young officers, to whom they are acceptable. It would be of service, and indeed of great service, if a distinct and clear narrative of every expedition, drawn, or at least signed by the commanding officer, was deposited in the Admiralty, as well as a Sea Journal.

About this time the French formed a very memorable design of attacking the Leeward Islands, and this, with the natural strength of their own colonies; for which purpose they assembled, in the month of May and June, about two thousand men in Martinico; these they embarked on board the following vessels, *viz.* a large ship of thirty-six guns, a hag-boat of twenty-four guns, two merchant ships, and nine privateer sloops. They put to sea on the 10th of June, with an intent to land on the island of Antigua; but they were scarcely clear of their own island, before they met with her Majesty's ship the Newcastle commanded by Captain Bourn, who attacked them so briskly, that, notwithstanding it was a calm, and they lay in such a manner, as that it was impossible for him to bring his broadside to bear upon them; yet, after an action of three hours, in which the French lost sixty-four men, he obliged them to relinquish their enterprise, and to take the opportunity of the first little breeze that sprung up, to return into one of the ports of their own islands.

Unwilling, however, absolutely to abandon their design, they refitted their vessels, and beat up for volunteers, and, on the 16th, landed nearly fifteen hundred men on the island of Montserrat; they debarked these troops about twelve at night, and began to plunder the adjacent country; but being informed that Captain Bourn sailed from thence that very day, and was expected again the next, they embarked in such a hurry, that they left fifteen or twenty of their men behind them, who were made prisoners by the inhabitants of the island, and thus ended this project, through the courage and conduct of this worthy commander. The French, however, did not escape totally unchastised for this mischief, for Captain Lisle, in her Majesty's ship the Diamond, having notice of their situation, and suspecting that some of their transports would very soon put to sea, he kept cruizing, together with the Panther, and another of her Majesty's ships, at a small distance from the coast, and in a short time took three of them, besides other prizes so that the enemy were effectually cured of their inclinations to make descents for this year.

To return now to Commodore Littleton, who having sent away the homeward-bound trade in the month of August, under the convoy of the Nonsuch, returned again to his cruizing station, in the latter end of the same month. He had not been long at sea, before the captain of the Medway's prize, whom he had sent to Blewfields-bay in Jamaica, brought him advice, that the master of a trading vessel had lately made oath before Lord Archibald Hamilton, then governor of Jamaica, that eighteen French men of war, having a large number of transports with soldiers under their convoy, arrived lately at Martinico, from whence, it was believed, they would very speedily sail, to make an attempt upon Jamaica. This intelligence induced the commodore to sail instantly back to the island, where the governor assured him, there was not a word of truth in the story. This accident, however, had a very ill effect, since at that very instant M. Du Casse, with his squadron, got safe into the Havannah, which he could not possibly have done, if the commodore had kept his station. It may be believed, that this disappointment gave him infinite disturbance, but it did not, however, hinder his cruizing for some time off the Havannah, in hopes of repairing this disaster; in which he did not succeed.

Upon his return to Jamaica, he found the Thetis, a French man of war, lately taken, arrived from New England; and soon after Captain Lestock, in the Weymouth, from the same place, with a small privateer, which he had taken on the coast of Porto Rico, in his passage. There were at this time many merchant ships ready to sail home, with whom the commodore sent the Anglesea, Fowey, and Scarborough;

the last-mentioned ship had been taken from the French by the two former, upon the coast of Guinea, where not long before, the French had taken her from us. Thus ended the operations of the naval campaign for this year in the West Indies.

But, before we leave America, it is necessary that we should enter into a circumstantial account of that famous expedition against the French settlements in Canada, which makes so great a figure in the French histories, and on which we find so many reflections made in our own; the subject indeed is both intricate and unpleasant, nevertheless it is extremely necessary to set it in a clear light; since, notwithstanding its miscarriage, through a concurrence of unforeseen, as well as unlucky accidents, it was certainly one of the best intended, and very far from being one of the worst contrived designs that was set on foot during this war, and, therefore, we hope the reader will not think an impartial relation of the whole affair unworthy of his attention.

The disturbance given us by the French in North America, and the apprehensions our colonies were under, from the strength of their settlements in Canada, have been so often mentioned, that I think I need not insist upon them here: I shall content myself, therefore, with observing, that the earl of Godolphin had often expressed a strong desire of attempting something of consequence in this part of the world, that might exalt our own character, and humble the haughtiness of the enemy. Sir Hovenden Walker informs us, that he was consulted by that great minister, in reference to this design; yet I very much doubt, whether the whole of it was then communicated to him, since it is very certain, that it was not either he, or General Hill, who were to have been employed in the expedition, as it was then intended; but Sir Thomas Hardy was to have commanded the fleet, and the land forces were to have been under General Macartney. It has been remarked by Bishop Burnet, and some other writers, that the whole of this design was concerted without any application to, or consent of parliament; and this, that prelate says, was the more inexcusable, because it was contrived and carried into execution, at a time when the parliament was sitting.*

The force of this objection, I must confess, I do not see; for if expeditions of such a nature, with all the estimates of expences necessary for rendering them effectual, were to be laid before parliament before they could be undertaken, I think it must be obvious to every intelligent reader, that this would afford such an opportunity of opposing designs of this nature at home, and making all the world acquainted with them abroad, that it would be afterwards seldom advisable to execute them. But there is another remark made by Mr. Burchet, which appears to have a better foundation. He says, that this design was industriously concealed from the lords of the Admiralty, as long as it was possible, and that at last they were trusted only with the executive part, and not at all with the direction;

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* The Bishop's account runs thus: "An expedition was designed by sea, for taking Quebec and Placentia, and, for that end, five thousand men were brought from Flanders. Hill, who was brother to the favourite, had the command. There was a strong squadron of men of war ordered to secure the transport fleet; they were furnished from hence with provisions, only for three months; but they designed to take in a second supply at New England. A commissioner of the victualling then told me, he could not guess what made them to be sent out so ill furnished, for they had stores lying on their hands for a full supply."—Mr. Oldmixon writes with less resentment; he attributes this project originally to Governor Nicholson, and I believe with truth; he says, the four Indian chiefs, who were brought over hither, and presented to the queen, solicited it strongly; and, in fine, that it had been certainly a very good project, if it had fallen into good hands. But, he insinuates, that it was made a job; the contrary of which, I think, will appear by the citation in the next note.

for otherwise, he thinks, it must have been impossible that such large ships should have been ordered for an expedition into the river of St. Lawrence, which was well known to their lordships to be so hazardous a navigation, and for which, therefore, ships of such a burden were altogether unfit.*

This remark, I say, has greater weight with me, because it plainly proves, that how right soever the intention of a ministry may be, in endeavouring to preserve an absolute secrecy as to designs of this sort; yet, in case of any miscarriage, their conduct will be always liable to great imputations, where they avoid communicating their councils to such branches of the administration, as seem to have a right to regulate and direct them.*

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* How far the following account of this matter, taken from a letter of Mr. Secretary St. John's, to Sir Hovenden Walker, dated April 17, 1711, will obviate even this objection, I must leave to the reader; with this observation, however, that if the sentiments contained in it were not sincere, the writer must have been the greatest dissembler in the world.—" The Humber and Devonshire will proceed with you; of those which are ordered to cruize in the Soundings, it will not, I doubt, be possible for you to be joined by any. The lords of the Admiralty, you find, look on these additional ships as given you for the expedition, and it is fit they should do so; but when you are got far enough into the sea, you are to send back two of the ten sail, and if you find any of the eight first, appointed to compose your squadron, not fit for the voyage, as the Torbay is reported not to be, you may, in such case, send home the ship which is unfit, taking which you shall like best of the two additional ships in lieu of her. The messenger who brings this packet, is ordered to stay till dispatched back again by Mr. Hill and yourself. I must tell you, that I find her Majesty extremely impatient to hear you are sailed, and concerned lest you should lose the advantage of this easterly wind. I hope, therefore, by the return of the messenger, you will inform me exactly when you shall be ready to proceed. I have nothing more to add, but to recommend all possible expedition to you, upon which, morally and probably speaking, your success entirely depends. That you may have a prosperous voyage, and be, together with Mr. Hill, the instruments of doing so much honour, and bringing so much advantage to your country, as are proposed by the attempt you are ordered to make, is the hearty prayers of,

" Sir, yours, &c."

In respect to this design upon Quebec, it seems to have been principally under the direction of the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, then Mr. Secretary St. John, by whose interest, I suppose, Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the white, was appointed to command in chief, and General Hill, who was brother to Lady Masham, was likewise appointed commander of about five thousand land-forces, that were to be employed in this design. As it was the first, and, indeed, the only great undertaking of the new ministry, I cannot believe but that they were in earnest, and really in hopes of raising their reputation, by giving an extraordinary blow to the French power in those parts; which I conceive must evidently appear, if we consider the great force employed for this purpose, and which will be best made known to the reader, by giving him, in a note,† Sir Hovenden Walker's line

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* One may fairly collect from this, that the ministers who concerted this scheme, were not only thoroughly in earnest, but also extremely sanguine in respect to its success, otherwise they would never have taken this method; and surely there was nothing criminal in desiring to recover Canada out of the hands of the French, or in proposing, for the protection and security of our own colonies, to drive them entirely out of North America, which was the avowed design of this enterprise, and would have been a signal benefit to Great Britain.

Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
† Torbay	Captain Moody,	500	80
Monmouth	Mitchell,	400	70
Sunderland	Gore,	365	60
Diamond	Lisle,	190	40
Devonshire	Arris,	520	80
Edgar	Sir Hovenden Walker, Captain Soans,	440	70
Humber	Culliford,	520	80
Montague	Walton,	365	60
Kingston	Winder,	365	60
Swiftsure	Cooper,	400	70
Dunkirk	Butler,	365	60

of battle, as we find it in the appendix to his own account.

The instructions given by her Majesty to Sir Hovenden Walker, required him, as soon as the general and troops were embarked, to proceed to Boston directly, without touching at any place whatsoever; and, if he judged it convenient, he was to detach, in his passage, a ship of war, with the artillery, stores, clothes, and other necessaries, to New York; but, if he found this inexpedient, he was to send them from Boston. On his arrival at that place, he was to take the Leopard and Sapphire under his command, and in case the general thought it necessary, he was to assist him in exchanging the garrison of Annapolis Royal, and in transporting the old garrison, with stores, back to New England. He was, when at Boston, to take under his care all transport vessels, ketches, hoys, boats, and other necessaries, provided in New England; and as soon as the forces from hence, and those raised there, should be on board, he was to sail with them all into the river of St. Lawrence, up to Quebec, in order to attack that place; and being arrived, to make a proper disposition of the ships for that purpose, as well of such as might be fit to employ before the town, as others; upon consulting with the general, to pass that place, and proceed up the river towards the lake, not only to prevent any communication with Quebec, but to protect the canoes and boats, with the forces from New York; to which end, he was empowered to convert some of the small vessels sent from hence, or New England, into frigates, suitable to the navigation of the upper part of

Together with the Bedford-Galley frigate, Basilisk and Granada bombs, with the Experiment, the bombs tender.

There were, besides, thirty-three transports, with the regiments of Brigadier Hill, Colonel Windress, Colonel Clayton, Colonel Kane, Lieutenant-general Seymour, Colonel Disney, Colonel Kirk, and a battalion of marines, under the command of Colonel Charles Churchill, making in all upwards of five thousand men, and eight transports and tenders belonging to the train.

the river, and to man and arm them accordingly. At New England, or elsewhere, he was to assist the general with vessels and boats proper for landing the forces, and embarking them again, but more especially upon his arrival at Quebec, or for transporting them from place to place. He was also ordered to send to the general such marine soldiers as should be on board the squadron, when he should demand the same, of which he was to have the chief command while employed on shore; besides which, he was to assist him with such a number of seamen, gunners, guns, ammunition, and other stores from the ships, as he should demand for the land-service; these seamen were to assist in drawing and mounting the cannon, or otherwise as should be found necessary. He was strictly required to lose no time in proceeding to New England, and from thence to the river of St. Lawrence; nor in putting in execution the service of Quebec: but that, on his part, all expedition should be used in the reduction of the place, and of the country of Canada, or New France, and in the seasonable return of the squadron and transports.

He was further instructed, which shews that this design had been very thoroughly considered, in case of success, to leave such a naval force as he thought proper in the river of St. Lawrence, and to make use of any of the enemy's ships that might be taken, to bring into Europe such governors, regular troops, religious persons, or others whom the general, by his instructions was directed to send away from Canada, with whatever necessaries for their transportation he should think requisite. These services being provided for, he was to take on board the general, if he should think fit to return, and such of the forces as should not be found necessary to live in Canada; and, if the season of the year would permit, he was to proceed to attack Placentia, in Newfoundland, in such a manner as General Hill should direct; and this service being over, he was to order the ships of war as did not properly belong to his squadron, to their several stations, directing the masters of the transports, which he should have no further occasion for, to go and seek freight, either in ports upon the continent of America, or in the islands, in order to ease the public of the charge of them, and for the benefit of the British commerce.

On the 29th of April, 1711, Sir Hovenden Walker sailed with the men of war and transports under his command; but coming off the Start the 1st of May, a westerly wind obliged him to put into Plymouth;* from whence he sailed again in two days time, and continued his voyage very happily towards New England, where he arrived on the 24th of June, without any other accident, than two of his captains disobeying his orders; *viz.* Captain Soans, of the Edgar, and Captain Butler, in the Dunkirk; they had both chaced without signal, and left the fleet, notwithstanding the strict injunction of the admiral, grounded on his instructions to the contrary. As Captain Soans had joined the fleet again the next day, he was only mulcted three months pay; but Captain Butler having never been seen by the fleet, till their arrival at Nantasket, near Boston, was discharged and dismissed from his command.

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* As I have all along endeavoured to treat every subject that fell in my way as impartially as possible, so I think it my duty to give the reader here a letter from Lord Bolingbroke to the admiral, which, I think, evidently proves, that this minister had the design as much at heart as any man in his station could have.

"SIR,

"The wind being come about to the south, I take it for granted, that this letter will find you at Plymouth, or at Torbay, the usual bane of our maritime expeditions. You must allow me to tell you, that the queen is very uneasy at the unaccountable loss of time in your stay at Portsmouth; and, if the Devonshire could not be refitted sooner, you ought rather to have left her behind, than delay your sailing. If the transports were the occasion of this misfortune, the commissioners, or masters, of them are to blame, and should be complained of. I take it for granted, if you continue any time wind-bound, that you will be stopped for good and all; and the whole expence and trouble will be thrown away; and that we shall make as little of our fleet this year, as we have done in former summers. In case Providence will carry us forward in spite of our teeth, I hope the last delay will be a warning to you, and that you will improve to-day, instead of depending upon to-morrow. If any thing is to be ordered, or done here, let me know by express, and there shall be as much expedition used, as I wish there had been at Portsmouth. I have sent to Coleby, to go wherever you are driven back, that this part of the service may have the due care taken of it.

"Whitehall, May 1, 1711. I am, SIR, &c."

The admiral was far from meeting, in New England, with that hearty zeal for the service which he expected; for being obliged to take up a great quantity of provisions for the service of the fleet and transports, he found the utmost difficulty therein, as appears very clearly from the authentic papers inserted, or annexed by way of appendix to his account. From these it is evident, that the person who was depended upon for that service, not only refused it, but endeavoured to serve his private interest, at the expence of the public, by buying up great quantities on his own account, in order to vend them again to whoever should undertake to supply the fleet; so that, by the slowness of the colony, and the avarice of this particular person, the whole expedition was ruined.

The admiral and general did all that was in their power, by memorials and solicitations, to remedy this inconvenience; but to little or no purpose, since the inhabitants were extremely sensible of their own interest, and deaf to every thing else. General Nicholson came to Boston, and gave all the assistance that was in his power, and so did some other public-spirited persons, without which, it had been impossible for the fleet and forces to have proceeded at all; and, as it was, they found it impracticable to leave Boston before the 30th of July, when, with a few pilots on board, who professed their own ignorance, and went against their will, Sir Hovenden Walker sailed for Quebec.

On the 14th of August he reached the Bird Islands, which lie about two hundred and fifty leagues from Cape Anne, and having sent the Chester, Leopard, and Sapphire, to cruize between Placentia and Cape Breton, an island opposite to Newfoundland, expecting their joining him in his passage to Quebec; the former of these ships had taken, and sent into Boston before he sailed thence, a ship of about one hundred and twenty tons, and ten guns, that had seventy men on board, whereof thirty were soldiers for that garrison. The Leostoff, Feversham, Enterprise, and Triton's prize, all small frigates which were stationed at New York and Virginia, he ordered to join him off Cape Breton, being empowered by her Majesty's orders so to do, if he should find it necessary; and this he the rather did, because of the use they might be to him in his proceeding up the river to Quebec, which navigation most of the people with whom he had spoken, represented to be very dangerous; and, therefore, he rightly judged the Humber and Devonshire, which mounted eighty guns each, too big to be ventured thither, for which reason he sent them home, and shifted his flag on board the Edgar, a ship of seventy guns, General Hill removing into the Windsor, which carried ten less; but since he had information that a ship of sixty guns, and another of thirty, were expected from France very suddenly, he ordered the Humber and Devonshire to cruize on the opening of the Bay of St. Lawrence, until the last of August, and then to pursue their voyage home. He had very fair weather until he got into the bay, when it became changeable; sometimes thick and foggy, and at others calm, with little winds, and the navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The 18th of August, when he was off Gaspe Bay, near the entrance of the river, it blew fresh at N. W. and, for fear the transports should be separated, and blown to leeward, he anchored in the bay, where, staying for an opportunity to proceed up the river, he burnt a French ship that was fishing, not being able to bring her off.

On the 20th of August, the wind veering westerly, the admiral had hopes of gaining a passage; but the next day in the afternoon, it proved foggy, and continued so all night, and the day following, with very little wind till towards evening, when there was an extremely thick fog, and it began to blow hard at E. and E. S. E. which rendering it impossible to steer any course with safety, having neither sight of land, nor soundings, nor anchorage, he, by the advice of the pilots then on board him, both English and French, who were the best in the fleet, made the signal for the ships to bring to, with their heads southward, at which time it was about eight at night, believing that in this posture they should not come near the north shore, but rather have driven with the stream in the mid channel; but, on the contrary, as they lay with their heads southward, and the winds easterly, in two hours time he found himself on the north shore among the rocks and islands, at least fifteen leagues farther than the log-line gave, where the whole fleet had like to have been lost; the men of war escaping the danger with the utmost difficulty, but eight transport-ships were cast away, and almost nine hundred officers, soldiers, and seamen, perished.*

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* The admiral has published the following account of the ships and men that were lost by this unlucky accident:

Ships names. Transports.	Men lost.	Men saved.	Regiments.
Isabella Anne Katherine,	192	7 or 8	Colonel Windresse
Smyrna Merchant	200	30	——— Kaine.
Samuel and Anne	142	7 or 8	Lieut.-gen. Seymour.
Nathaniel and Elizabeth	10	188	——— ditto.
Marlborough	130	30	Colonel Clayton.
Chatham	60	40	——— Windresse.
Colchester	150	180	Lieut.-gen. Seymour.
Content, victualler		15	
	884	499	

The French pilot, who, as it was said, had been forty voyages in this river, and eighteen of them in command, informed him, that when it happens to be so foggy as to prevent the sight of the land, it is impossible to judge of the currents, or to steer by any course; for that he himself had lost two ships, and had been another time cast away upon the north shore, when he judged himself near the south; insomuch, that it was extremely difficult to procure men in France, to proceed on so dangerous a navigation, since almost every year they suffered shipwreck.

Sir Hovenden Walker plied two days after this with fresh gales at W. and S. in order to save what men and stores he could, and on the 25th of August, by the advice, and with the consent, of the general, he called a council of war, consisting of all the sea-officers, in which great debates arose, most of the captains being rather inclined to censure the admiral's conduct, in not calling a council of war before he left Boston, than to give him any reason to grow pleased with councils of war, by the advice they gave him in this. Sir Hovenden told them plainly, that if he had acted amiss in what they mentioned, he was to answer for it in another place, and that the nature of the service, and the circumstances they were in, required them to confine their deliberations to another matter; and, therefore, in order to cut short these unnecessary debates, he would propose the single question, proper for their present consideration; which was, whether they thought it practicable to get up to Quebec or not? upon which, they came unanimously to the following resolution; *viz.* "That, by reason of the ignorance of the pilots, it was wholly impracticable to go up the river of St. Lawrence, with the men of war and transports, as far as Quebec; as also the uncertainty and rapidity of the currents, as by fatal experience was found." Upon this, the Sapphire was sent to Boston, with an account of the misfortune, and the Montague to find out the Humber and Devonshire, and to stop all ships bound up to Quebec; and the Leopard being left with some sloops and brigantines, to take any men from the shore that might be saved, and to endeavour to weigh some anchors left behind, he proceeded to Spanish River, in the island of Breton, the rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the state of the army and fleet, and to settle matters for their further proceedings; but all the ships did not join till the 7th of September.

The admiral being very sensible of the reproaches that would be cast upon him, if, after failing in his design on Quebec, he should return home without so much as attempting Placentia, communicated his thoughts upon this subject very freely to the general, and some land officers, intimating, at the same time, some doubt, whether his instructions would warrant such a conduct, without receiving fresh orders from England. General Hill agreed with him in the main, that it was a great misfortune to the nation, and very unlucky for themselves, that hitherto they had met with so little success in this expedition; but was quite of a different opinion, as to the return of the fleet and forces to England, which he judged to be absolutely in the admiral's power; however, he advised him to call a second council of war, and to be determined by the opinion of the sea and land officers, to which the admiral readily agreed; and accordingly he made a signal for a general council of war of sea and land officers, on Saturday the 8th of September, in Spanish River road; and in this council it was unanimously determined, that any attempt upon Placentia, considering the lateness of the season, and their circumstances, was utterly impracticable.*

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* As this resolution absolutely decided the whole business, as it contains the reasons upon which the officers concerned proceeded; and as it fully proves the innocence of the admiral and the general in this affair, the whole of which it sets in a full and clear light; I think it necessary to transcribe this paper, with the names of the officers present at this council.

The admiral had now nothing more to do, than to provide the best he could for his safe return home, and for the due distribution of ships and forces to their respective stations and garrisons throughout North America, which he seems to have performed with all the care and diligence imaginable; and it appears, that in the whole course of his command, he preserved a perfect understanding with the land officers, and gave all the assistance that was either

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"The twenty-first article of her Majesty's instructions to the general, for attacking Placentia, in Newfoundland, in his return from Canada, together with the tenth article of the admiral's instructions to the same purpose, being severally read to the council of war; as also a letter from Colonel Dudley, governor of New England, to the admiral, touching the lateness of the preparation of provisions, now making in that colony for the supply of the troops, if they had wintered at Quebec; all which being maturely considered and debated, the question was put as follows, *viz.* The state of provisions for the ships of war and land forces being considered, which provisions not amounting to above ten weeks, at short allowance, computing it from the 12th of this instant, September, as appears by the agent victuallers signed account thereof, and allowing it to be all good, and to hold out to that time, the said 12th of September, being the soonest we can sail from thence; and there being no hopes of any supply from New England before the beginning of November next, at soonest, as appears by the advice received in the aforesaid letter from the governor of New England, and the opinion of two of the members of the council of war, who knew that country, together with the uncertainty of any provisions coming to us at Newfoundland, by reason the season of the year is so far advanced, which makes the Navigation of that coast so dangerous; the council of war is unanimously of opinion, that the attempt for reducing Placentia, under the circumstances and difficulties above-mentioned, is at this time altogether impracticable, and that it is for her Majesty's service, that the squadron and transports with the British troops, do forthwith return to Great Britain, and the forces raised in New England to that colony."

Hovenden Walker
Joseph Soanes
John Mitchell
R. Arris
G. Walton
Henry Gore
G. Paddon
John Winder
John Cockburn
James Cook
J. Hill
Charles Churchill
William Windresse
M. Kempenfelt
Jasper Clayton
P. Kirk
H. Disney
Richard Kane
Samuel Vetch
Cha. Walton.

desired, or could be expected, to the several governors of our settlements in that part of the world. In his voyage home, he met with no accidents that either retarded his passage, or added to the misfortunes he had already met with; but arrived safely at St. Helen's, on the ninth of October, 1711, with the fleet and transports under his command.

On the 13th, the soldiers having all had their quarters assigned them, and the transports being directed to the several ports where the regiments were to debark, the admiral, having had leave for that purpose, set out for London. On the 15th, the admiral's ship, in which he had hoisted his flag, the Edgar, a third rate, of 70 guns, blew up at Spithead, by which several hundred seamen were lost, with all Sir Hovenden Walker's furniture, stores, and public papers, books, draughts, journals, charts, &c. the officers original demands, supplies, and receipts; which was certainly a very great misfortune to him, and such a one as did by no means deserve to be heightened by any groundless or malicious reflections; which, however, were not spared upon that melancholy occasion. That very evening, Sir Hovenden waited upon Secretary St. John, who expressed an extraordinary concern on the miscarriage of the expedition. On the 19th, the admiral was introduced to the queen at Windsor, by the duke of Shrewsbury; when her Majesty received him very kindly, gave him her hand to kiss, and said she was glad to see him.

The reflections made by Mr. Secretary Burchet, upon this expedition, are so extraordinary, and so out of his usual way of writing, that I cannot help laying them before the reader, with a few remarks. "Thus ended," says he, "an expedition so chargeable to the nation, and from which no advantage could reasonably be expected, considering how unadvisedly it was set on foot, by those who nursed it upon false suggestions and representations. Besides, it occasioned our drawing from the army in Flanders, under the command of his grace the duke of Marlborough, at least six thousand men; where, instead of beating up and down at sea, they might, under his auspicious conduct, have done their country service. Nay, there may be added to the misfortunes abroad, an unlucky accident which happened even at their return on our coast, for a ship of the squadron, called the Edgar, of 70 guns, had not been many days at an anchor at Spithead, 'ere, by what cause is unknown, she blew up, and all the men which were on board her perished.*

The first part of this observation is taken from Sir Hovenden Walker's letter; but whereas he says plainly, that as the scheme was contrived by the people of New England, so it was ruined through their ill conduct; yet, as it stands with Mr. Burchet, it looks rather like a reflection on the administration. The design itself was undoubtedly good; it was thought of before; it was attempted soon after the revolution. All thinking men in North America saw not only the expediency, but the necessity of it, and that, in fact, the thing stood thus: we must either use our superiority for the destruction of the French, or expect destruction from them, when, through our neglect, and their own diligence, they became superior to us. It was, therefore, no objection at all, either to the administration, or to Admiral Walker, that their thoughts were so much bent on a matter of so high consequence to the commerce and navigation of Great Britain; especially at such a juncture, when, if we had succeeded in our design, the possession of Canada must have been yielded to us by a peace.

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* See his Naval History, p. 781. What seems to have drawn so much resentment upon Sir Hovenden Walker was, his being considered as a favourite of this administration. At the change of the ministry, he was superintendant at Plymouth, and was promoted to the vacant flag in the month of March 1711, as he tells us himself, out of regard to seniority. In the month of April he was knighted, and appointed commander-in-chief of this expedition, in which his conduct appeared so little blameable to her Majesty, and her council, that, as we shall see hereafter, he was again appointed commander-in-chief in the West Indies, in order to relieve Commodore Littleton, and discharged his trust there with great reputation.

The short victualling of the fleet, which some have interpreted as a proof that the ministry were not in earnest, was, in fact, an evidence of the contrary; for, it they had intended to make a shew only, they would most certainly have victualled the fleet for the whole voyage. But then, this would have discovered the design long before they sailed; and it is most certain, that by following the contrary method, the secret was very well kept. In the next place, it is no less certain, that Sir Hovenden arrived in Boston in very good time; and if the people of New England, instead of that backwardness which they expressed, and which, as appears from some intercepted letters, was in part conceived to be occasioned by the intrigues of some French agents among them; I say, if, instead of this backwardness, they had shewn that zeal, that, from their duty to their mother-country, their own warm professions, and the interest they had in the execution of this design, might well have been expected, the scheme could not have failed.

So that, upon the whole, there is not the least ground for saying, that the land troops were worse employed under the command of General Hill, than they would have been in Flanders under the duke of Marlborough; I say, there is no ground for affirming this, unless it can be supposed, that the Dutch barrier is actually, and *bona fide*, of greater consequence to this nation, than our colonies and commerce; and I must, for my own part, confess, that I can never be much prepossessed in favour of a writer of naval history, who would insinuate such things to his reader. Yet all he says of this sort, is a very trifle, when compared with that most injurious suggestion, as to the blowing up of the Edgar,* which was the highest misfortune to the admiral, and therefore it is barbarous in the last degree to impute it to him as a disgrace; nay, the very turn given to it, is as silly as it is malicious; for if the loss of the Edgar had been a thing contrived, it might in all probability have been discovered; whereas, being purely accidental, and all the men in her being blown up, it was simply impossible the cause of this accident should ever be known.

Another party writer has treated this expedition as severely, but with more wit, spirit, and decency, than the secretary; and to shew my impartiality, I have inserted his reflections at the bottom of the page.†

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* The blowing up of the Edgar, on the 15th of October, was certainly a very dreadful accident; since, besides her crew, there were forty or fifty people from Portsmouth and Gosport, who went to see their friends. The commission officers had the good fortune to be on shore. What made it still the worse was, that our seamen had a notion of its being very ominous, because it was the oldest ship in the navy; and some went so far as to affirm, that it was actually the ship in which King Edgar sailed, some part of the old vessel being constantly preserved every time that she had been re-built, so that these were all ingredients towards magnifying the disasters of the Canada expedition; and I much wonder that this tradition did not find a place in Mr. Burchet's history.

† The author referred to in the text, Dr. Hare, was then a reverend divine, and afterwards a right reverend prelate of our church, who, in a treatise intitled, The Allies and the late Ministry defended against France, p. 58. writes thus: "It was plain, by the account given of the expedition, that it was not merely an accident, or any treachery, that was the cause of the miscarriage; but a complication of many difficulties. For first, continues he, we are told, that the river St. Laurence is navigable only at one time of the year. We let that slip; but if we had nick'd the time, we could not have sailed up that river without very able pilots. We had none: if we had taken the proper time, and been provided with good pilots, none but ships of a certain burden can go up the river; all our men of war were too big. But if time, and pilots, and ships had been the most proper for the enterprise, we should have had provisions for more months, than we had weeks, to subsist the fleet and troops during the winter. And what is more, if we had gone in the proper time; if we had had good pilots, if we

Happy would it be for us, if less of party, and more of public spirit, appeared in our historians; if the design of every expedition was impartially represented, and justice done to such commanders as did their best to serve the nation, and were disappointed by accidents, that they could not either foresee or avoid.

We are now to return home, and to consider what passed inparliament, and elsewhere, relating to the subject of this work; and, in the first place, we are to observe, that as the parliament sat very late in the summer, so great pains were taken to discover as many oversights in the conduct of the late ministry, and that in as many branches of the public business as it was possible. Among these, the commons, on the 4th of June, 1711, thought fit to introduce the affairs of the fleet in the following terms:

"With regard to the debt of the navy, we find that one great discouragement and burden, which that part of the service has lain under, has been from a liberty that has been used of diverting several sums issued to that service, and transferring them to other purposes, for which they were not intended; particularly, that the sum of six hundred and six thousand, eight hundred and six pounds, seven shillings and seven pence, belonging to the navy, has been paid for provisions supplied to land forces sent to Spain and Portugal, and for the garrison of Gibraltar; for which no deductions have been made from the pay of those forces, nor any part of that sum re-assigned to the victualling, notwithstanding the several acts of parliament provided, and the many letters written, and representations made to the treasury in that behalf. This unjustifiable proceeding has been a discouragement to the seamen, occasioned the paying ex-

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had carried proper ships, and had lain in sufficient provisions, it is said the enemy were so well provided for a defence, that our forces were not sufficient; though both troops and officers were so good, that nothing would have been wanted on their side."

travagant rates upon contracts, and has very much contributed to sink the credit of the navy.

"To this we may add, the many notorious embezzlements, and scandalous abuses, which appear to have been practised, as well in the management of your Majesty's brewhouse, as in the contracts for furnishing the navy with beer. We have already presumed to address your Majesty, that several persons, whom we discovered to have been guilty of those frauds, should be prosecuted at law for their offences, and we entirely rely upon your Majesty's most gracious assurance, that those prosecutions shall be effectually carried on: but we must also, upon this occasion, beg leave further to represent to your Majesty, that the commissioners appointed to take care of the victualling your Majesty's navy, have been guilty of great negligence and remissness in their duty; for the instructions which go along with that commission, are so well adapted to the preventing those very abuses which have been committed, that nothing but a notorious mismanagement in that office, and an inexcusable neglect in pursuing those instructions, could have given way to the great loss the public has sustained in that part of the service."

To this the queen was pleased to give the following very gracious answer:

"Gentlemen, this representation gives me fresh assurances of your zeal for my service, and for the true interest of your country. It contains many particulars. I will take them all into serious consideration, and give the necessary directions to redress the grievances you complain of. Be assured, that your advice, upon all occasions, has the greatest weight with me."

The change of the ministry, and the change of measures, made it extremely requisite to countenance, in the highest degree, whatever had the appearance either of public frugality, or encouraging our navigation, commerce, and influence abroad, such an influence, I mean, as might be beneficial to our trade; and with a view to these, the commons followed their representation, upon the 7th of the same month, with the following resolutions to address the queen, "To appoint persons to inquire into the number and quality of the forces in her Majesty's pay in Spain and Portugal, and to examine the state of the payments and accounts relating to the said forces, and to the garrisons and fortifications of Gibraltar and Port Mahon; and also the accounts of the agent victuallers, and commissioners of stores in those parts."

They also resolved to present two other; one, "That she would be pleased to take such measures as her Majesty should judge most proper, for supporting the settlements in Africa, and preserve the African trade, till some other provision be made by parliament for the same; and that her Majesty would take into consideration the nature of that trade, and how it might be best carried on for the service of the kingdom." The other, "That an account be laid before this house the beginning of next session of parliament, of the distribution intended to be made of the debentures directed to be delivered by the commissioners of trade and plantations, for the relief of the sufferers in the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher's, and the re-settlements made there by the said sufferers." The business of the nation having been thus sufficiently provided for, the queen thought proper, on the 12th of the same month of June, to put an end to the session by a prorogation.

In the recess of parliament, the new ministry was completed, and they had time to form and regulate their designs. Robert Harley, Esq. who was then at the head of it, had, a little before the rising of the houses, been created earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer, and had the staff of lord high-treasurer delivered to him, in order to give the greater lustre to his ministry, and Charles Benson, Esq. was constituted chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer. A new commission was granted for the board of trade and plantations, at the head of which was Charles earl of Winchelsea; and the lord-keeper Harcourt, was raised to the degree of a baron of this realm.

Such other promotions were made as best suited with the designs of the new ministry, who, towards the end of the year, shewed plainly their inclination to a peace; which, however, they were forced to manage with very great caution. Neither was it without much anxiety, that they considered the approach of the next session of parliament, early in the month of December, as indeed they had good reason, since it was known, before the meeting of the houses, that the lords would very strongly represent against the making any peace, by which Spain and the West Indies were left to the house of Bourbon.

On the 7th of December, the queen opened the session with a speech, in which she spoke much of peace; of the improvement of commerce; of easing the people; of reforming abuses; of maintaining the poor; and, in short, of every thing that was proper to conciliate the minds of moderate people, who were not so solicitous about parties, as desirous of seeing their country happy. The House of Lords entered, however, upon the measures that were expected; but the commons complied more readily with the inclinations of the court; and as soon as the estimates were laid before them, came to a resolution, that 40,000 seamen, including 8000 marines, should be employed for the sea service, and that 180,000*l.* should be granted for the ordinary of the navy. They likewise granted all that was required for the service of the war, and made provisions for raising the mighty sum given for the services of that year, and which amounted to no less than 6,656,967 pounds, very early, and with a remarkable chearfulness; so that it looked as if the ministry were determined to make peace sword in hand, and to take no step that might possibly encourage the enemy to think we would lay down our arms, till all the ends of the grand alliance were effectually answered.

Sir John Leake was now at the head of the Admiralty, and in that quality managed the business of the board in the House of Commons; and as the season for action advanced, he received a commission to command again in the Channel, as he had done the year before; and the command of the squadron in the Soundings was left to Sir Thomas Hardy, whose proceedings we shall next resume, as a proper introduction to the operations of the year 1712. The rather, because the grand fleet did little more this year, than convoy a body of troops, commanded by Lieutenant-general Hill, who were sent to take possession of Dunkirk; which service ended, they returned into the Downs; but, as to Sir Thomas Hardy, he continued to act effectually, and to take all the care that was in his power to distress the enemy in their naval concerns, till his diligence, in this respect, was superseded by the conclusion of the peace.

Early in the spring, he had intelligence of the return of M. Du Casse from America, for whom he cruized with the utmost diligence during the whole month of February; but with little or no success, except picking up now and then some small French vessels. He watched with the same assiduity for M. Du Guai Trouin; but was again disappointed. In the beginning of the month of August, Sir Thomas chaced six ships, and a tartan. One of them immediately hoisted a broad white pennant at the main-top-mast-head, shortened sail, and made a signal for the line of battle; and then tacked, and stood towards him, upon a supposition, as it was afterwards owned, that our ships were privateers from Flushing, with two prizes; but when they came nearer, and found their mistake, they kept their wind, and did all they could to make their escape, our ships pursuing them with the utmost diligence.

About five in the afternoon, the admiral came up with the biggest of them, which was the Griffin, a king's ship, but then in the service of the merchants. It was commanded by the Chevalier D'Aire, knight of the order of St. Lewis, who shortened sail immediately, brought to, and sent some of his officers on board our flag, to inform him, that he was bound with bale goods for La Vera Cruz, and that before he sailed from Brest, he had received letters from Paris, importing, that in a few days he might have had the queen of England's pass; but that his friends advised him not to lose a wind, in order to wait for it; but Sir Thomas told the lieutenant, that if they had no pass, he should look on the ship as a good prize; and accordingly sent his own lieutenant to take possession of her, himself, with the other ships of his squadron, continuing the chace. About eleven at night, the Windsor engaged the St. Esprit, a ship of thirty-six guns, and one hundred seventy-five men, laden with bale goods for Cadiz, and, about an hour after, she blew up, just as the captain had given orders to strike; but the captain, with about thirty-five men, were saved by our boats. The Berwick took the Adventure, of Havre de Grace, carrying twelve guns and forty men, bound for Newfoundland; but the master producing the queen's pass, she had leave to continue her voyage. The same ship took also the Incomparable, of sixteen guns, bound for Martinico; and the Ruby man of war likewise took a small French ship of twelve guns, which was also called the Ruby, bound for St. Domingo; so that of this French squadron, only one ship of eight guns, and the Tartan, escaped. The Griffin was certainly a good prize; but our ministers were so very desirous of obliging their new friends, that, after a long suit, in order to obtain the condemnation of the said vessel, Sir Thomas Hardy, and the rest of the captors, were obliged to accept of a sum of money, far short of the value of the ship and cargo, which has been justly considered as a hardship upon these brave men.

Vice-admiral Baker was, in the beginning of this year, at Lisbon, with a considerable squadron of our ships, from whence he sailed on the 8th of February, in order to cruize off Cape St. Mary's. He had not been long in that station, before he ran a large Spanish ship of sixty guns on shore, upon the Portuguese coast, the wind being at that time so high that they durst not venture near her. The inhabitants of the country, however, went on board and plundered her; the cargo, consisting of sugar, cocoa, snuff, hides, and twenty thousand pieces of eight. The vice-admiral presented a memorial to the King of Portugal, setting forth his right to her, and demanding, that the effects taken in this clandestine manner, should be delivered up; but they were so effectually secreted, that it was not in the power of the court to give him any redress.

On his return to Lisbon, he found orders from England to cruize with five ships of war, for the security of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, on which service the court of Portugal desired he might proceed by the 9th of April, and that two frigates might be sent with their outward-bound East India fleet as far as the Madeiras. The vice-admiral was very willing to comply with this; but the difficulty was, how to do it without departing from his orders, since he had directions from the lords of the Admiralty, to send two ships to cruize in the Straits' mouth; however, he had hopes, that the Dutch commander in chief would have taken care of this East India fleet.

On the 1st of April, arrived a convoy with provisions and stores from England, which determined him, since the Dutch had disappointed the Portuguese in their expectations, to send a fourth rate frigate with the East India ships as far as the western islands, and to cruize himself for the Brazil fleet, in such a station, as that he might be easily joined by the before-mentioned ship; and at the same time he dispatched Captain Maurice, with a small squadron, to cruize in the Straits' mouth. He continued cruizing about the western islands for several months, under great apprehensions, that the French squadron commanded by M. Cassard, was bound for the Brazils; till, at last, the provisions on board his squadron being reduced to five weeks at short allowance, it was necessary for him to think of returning to Portugal; but being still apprehensive, that if the Brazil fleet sailed before the French squadron, the latter would undoubtedly follow them to the Terceras, where they knew that fleet must refresh; he resolved to continue in his station as long as it was possible, in order to which, he engaged the Portuguese to furnish him with three weeks fresh provisions. On the 11th of September, being off the islands of Tercera, he met with a Portuguese frigate, which informed him, that he had left the fleet but three days before, and that he believed they would be that day in the road of Angra, the chief town in the island of Tercera.

Soon after he had this advice, a violent storm arose, which very much shattered the ships, and drove him so far, that he could not fetch the island again; and judging that it must also have the same effect on the Brazil fleet, he made an easy sail towards Lisbon, in order to pick up such as should be straggling from their convoys; but had no sight or intelligence of them, till he came off the rock, when he found they arrived the very day before he made the land; and as the cessation of arms was soon after concluded, the squadron of ships under his command was called home.

Sir John Jennings at this time commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, and in the month of May joined the Dutch vice-admiral with the transports, having on board six thousand five hundred men, which were put on shore in two days time; and his Imperial Majesty and Count Staremberg, pressing the necessity of carrying the cavalry over from Italy it was resolved that the admiral should return to Vado, from whence he sailed with the transports on the 27th of July, arrived at Barcelona on the 7th of August, where, soon after, he received the queen's orders for a suspension of arms, both by sea and land, and a letter from the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, directing him to suffer a great French corn-fleet to pass unmolested, every ship of which he must otherwise have taken; from this time, though the admiral was no longer concerned in military operations, yet he was very far from being inactive, since he transported the empress with her retinue, from Barcelona to Genoa, escorted thirty thousand men at two embarkations, from Catalonia to Naples, and afterwards carried over the duke and duchess of Savoy, from Villa-Franca to their new kingdom of Sicily; which, though done in the succeeding year, I mention in this place, that I may not be obliged to return into the Mediterranean, merely to speak of matters of parade.

We are next, according to the method hitherto constantly pursued, to return to the West Indies, where we left Commodore Littleton, with a small squadron, protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy as much as his strength would permit; but the government having certain intelligence, that the French were sending a considerable force into that part of the world, in order to disturb our trade, and perhaps to attack some of the Leeward Islands; the court thought it necessary to send an officer of rank, with a considerable squadron thither, for which service they made choice of Sir Hovenden Walker; which shews, that the administration did not conceive he had brought any stain upon them by his conduct in the Canada expedition.

He received his commission in the beginning of the month of April, and on the 28th of the same month he sailed from St. Helen's with about an hundred merchant-ships under his convoy. He parted on the 4th of May, being then fourteen leagues from Cape Finisterre, with the Litchfield and South-Sea-Castle, and the trade bound to Portugal; and arriving at the Madeiras with the Monmouth, a third rate, the August and Centurion, fourth rates, the Scarborough and Roebuck, fifth rates, and a frigate of twenty guns, it was determined to leave the Barbadoes trade there, under their proper convoy, consisting of the Woolwich, Swallow, and Lime: but that fleet, taking in their wine sooner than usual, sailed with the squadron on the 28th of the same month for the West Indies.

On the 24th of June, Admiral Walker arrived at Antigua, where the governor was more apprehensive of an insurrection among the inhabitants, than of an invasion from the French; and indeed things were at that time in a very unsettled condition in the Leeward Islands, where the governor, Colonel Douglas, was upon almost as bad terms with the people as his predecessor, Colonel Parke, whom they murdered for his tyrannical behaviour. Admiral Walker promised the governor, that if any thing like an insurrection happened, he would send him any assistance he should require from Jamaica; but advised him to treat the people with lenity, and to consider, that though he was sent over with instructions to prosecute such as were concerned in destroying the late governor, yet this was to be done in a legal manner, and with due regard to the liberty of the subject, and the monstrous provocations they had received, before they had proceeded to extremities, not justifiable indeed, but, at the same time, not altogether inexcusable. But this governor, who was so careful of his own safety, gave him not the least intelligence that a French squadron was expected in those parts; though, if he had taken any pains to be properly informed, he might have known that the French at Martinico expected, at this very time, the arrival of M. Cassard, with nine men of war. Sir Hovenden Walker sailing from thence, arrived safely at Jamaica on the 6th of July, where, having made the necessary dispositions for sending home the trade, and stationing properly the ships under his command, he received when he least expected it, the news, by an advice-boat, of an attempt made by the French upon Antigua and Montserrat.

This expedition of Monsieur Cassard deserves to be particularly taken notice of. He sailed from Toulon with a stout squadron of the king's ships, and is said to have had general instructions to annoy their enemies. As there was, even at this time, a negociation carrying on between the British and French ministers, it is surprising that the latter did not give him orders to forbear attacking our colonies, till such time as he received intelligence from France, the neglect of which occasioned great murmuring in England, and might have retarded the peace, if the news had arrived before it was so far advanced. M. Cassard sailed first to St. Jago, which is the principal of the islands of Cape De Verde, of which he made himself master without much difficulty, and having blown up the fort, and carried off whatever he could meet with, continued his voyage for the West Indies, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of July; and having drawn together in Martinico upwards of three thousand men, he had thoughts of attacking Antigua; but finding it very difficult to land there, he fell upon Montserrat, where he met with a very feeble resistance; the inhabitants retiring into the heart of the island because in the mountains they had a fortress almost inaccessible. The French continued upon the place some days, doing all the mischief possible; but having information that several of our ships were coming to the relief of the island, they abandoned it, though not till they had in a manner totally destroyed all the settlements in it.

Some mischief they did to our trade on the coast of Antigua, but finding themselves very much disliked by such as wished well to peace, they resolved to give over cruising upon the English; upon which they prepared every thing necessary for a longer voyage, and then stood over to the continent, where they attacked the Dutch settlement of Surinam, and obliged the inhabitants to pay them eight hundred thousand pieces of eight by way of contribution; this was in the month of October; and, in the mean time, Captain Archibald Hamilton, in her Majesty's ship the Woolwich, having received an account at Antigua of the cessation of arms; and that the French had, notwithstanding, carried several prizes into Martinico; he sent a ship thither to demand them of M. Phelypeaux, general of the French islands, who ordered all of them to be restored, and such goods as had been taken out of them to be put on board again.

Sir Hovenden Walker, in the mean time, remained at Jamaica, where he gave the necessary orders for the security of the trade, for cruising on the French coast, and for protecting the private commerce of the inhabitants with the Spaniards at Porto Bello, St. Domingo, and other places. While he was thus employed, there happened, in the night of the 29th of August, a hurricane much more violent than had been felt for many years in the island. It began about nine at night, and continued raging with the utmost vehemence till twelve. The lightning, in the mean time, covered the earth in continued gleams of sulphureous fire, the wind blowing all the time, not only with prodigious force, but with a horrid noise. In the morning, a most dreadful prospect appeared, many houses had been blown flat upon the ground, most of the others stript and laid open; trees torn up by the roots; the west end of the church ruined by the fall of its walls; the governor's house dismantled, and scarcely a dwelling in the island remaining uninjured. Several people were drowned on the shore, in the tempest, the sea forcing the boats and canoes a great way upon land at Spanish-town, and washing away the houses; so that, what with the wind and the water, there was not above two standing, and few or none of the ships of war, but were either driven ashore, lost their masts, or were otherwise disabled. The hospital was blown down to the ground, and several of the sick people killed; and, on the first of September, a third rate, the Monmouth, which had been on the coast of Hispaniola, came in with jury-masts, having lost her proper masts in the violence of the weather, and another, if her main mast had not given way, must, as her commander believed, have instantly overset. It required some time to repair the damages which her Majesty's ships sustained by this unfortunate accident; and, while this was doing, a very great desertion happened among our sailors, owing chiefly to the arts and intrigues of the captains of privateers, who made no scruple of preferring their private advantage to the security of commerce, and the welfare of their country. By the time that the disputes which these transactions occasioned were tolerably composed, Sir Hovenden Walker received an order from the lords of the Admiralty, to return home, after having first proclaimed the cessation of arms, which he accordingly did, and, after a prosperous voyage, arrived in Dover road on the 26th of May, 1713.

We are now arrived at the period of the naval operations in this war, and our next business will be to give an account of what advantages were gained, and of what might have been gained by the succeeding peace. It will, however, be proper, previously to this, to observe, that the administration had some disputes with their old friends, and their new ones, in relation to the affairs of commerce, before the peace was concluded.* In the first place, it was thought a little hard that the Dutch, throughout the whole course of this long and expensive war, should not have furnished their quota of ships and men in any one year; and this notwithstanding repeated expostulations with the States-general upon the subject.* With this

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* It will appear, in the next note, that we thought ourselves much injured by the manner in which the Dutch conducted the war at sea. Here, therefore, from the author of the "Conduct of the Allies," I will take notice of some complaints that were made of another nature, with a view to have it understood, that the carrying on the war was a thing now no longer practicable. By the grand alliance between the empire, England and Holland, we were to assist the other two, *totis viribus*, by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportion which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner: The emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons, and we forty thousand. In the winter, 1702, which was the next year, the duke of Marlborough proposed the raising of ten thousand men more, by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was, upon a par, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs; and, therefore, it was granted, with a condition, that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed, the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration till our session of parliament was ended, and the following year it was taken off by concert between our general and the States, without any reason assigned for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next, and some ensuing campaigns, further additional taxes were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders: and, in every new supply, the Dutch gradually lessened their proportion, although the parliament addressed the queen, that the States might be desired to observe them according to agreement; which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it, by making their troops nominal corps; as they did by keeping up the number of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money: so that, at length, things were just inverted, and in all new levies, we contributed a third more than the Dutch; who, at first, were obliged to the same proportion more than us. Besides, the more towns we conquered for the States, the worse condition we were in towards reducing the common enemy, and consequently of putting an end to the war. For they made no scruple of employing the troops of their quota towards garrisoning every town, as fast as it was taken, directly contrary to the agreement between us; by which all garrisons were particularly excluded. This, at length, arrived,

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by several steps, to such a height, that there were not the last year in the field, so many forces under the duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintained for that service; nor had been for some years past.

* This parliamentary representation was made on the 4th of March, 1712, and the paragraphs particularly referred to in the text, are these that follow:

" For obtaining the ends specified in the grand alliance, the three confederate powers engaged to assist each other with their whole force, according to such proportions as should be specified in a particular convention afterwards to be made for that purpose. We do not find that any such convention was ever ratified; but, it appears, that there was an agreement concluded, which, by common consent, was understood to be binding upon each party respectively, and according to which the proportions of Great Britain were, from the beginning, regulated and founded. The terms of that agreement were: That, for the service at land, his Imperial Majesty should furnish ninety thousand men; the king of Great Britain forty thousand, and the States-general one hundred and two thousand, of which there were forty-two thousand intended to supply their garrisons, and sixty thousand to act against the common enemy in the field; and, with regard to the operations of the war at sea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by Great Britain and the States-general, the quota of ships to be furnished for that service being five eighths on the part of Great Britain, and three eighths on the part of the States-general.

" Upon this foot the war began in the year 1702, at which time the whole yearly expence of it to England, amounted to three millions, seven hundred and six thousand, four hundred and ninety-four pounds. A very great charge it was then thought by your Majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed, from the burden of the former war; but yet a very moderate proportion, in comparison with the load which hath since been laid upon them; for, it appears, by estimates given in to your commons, that the sums necessary to carry on the service of this present year, in the same manner it was performed the last year, amount to more than six millions, nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds, besides interest for the public debt, and the deficiencies accruing in the last year; which two articles require one million, one hundred and forty-three thousand pounds more; so that the whole demand upon your commons is risen to more than eight millions for the present annual supply. We know your Majesty's grievance the nation was acquainted, and expressed no small resentment thereat, notwithstanding the pains taken by the friends of the Dutch to persuade them of the contrary.

To say the truth, the matter was carried very high on both sides; for the House of Commons having represented these omissions in our allies, as indubitable matters of fact, in order to justify the measures that were taking towards a peace; it was but natural for

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tender regard for the welfare of your people, will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a pressure as this upon them; and as we are assured, it will fully convince your Majesty of the necessity of our present enquiry, so we beg leave to represent to you from what causes, and by what steps, this immense charge appears to have grown upon us.

"The service at sea, as it has been very large and extensive in itself, so it hath been carried on through the whole course of the war, in a manner highly disadvantageous to your Majesty and your kingdom; for the necessity of affairs requiring that great fleets should be fitted out every year, as well for maintaining a superiority in the Mediterranean, as for opposing any force which the enemy might prepare, either at Dunkirk, or in the ports of West France: your Majesty's example and readiness in fitting out your proportion of ships, for all parts of that service, have been so far from prevailing with the States-general to keep pace with you, that they have been deficient every year to a great degree, in proportion to what your Majesty hath furnished, sometimes no less than two thirds, and generally more than half their quota. From hence, your Majesty has been obliged, for the preventing disappointments in the most pressing service, to supply those deficiencies by additional reinforcements of your own ships; nor hath the single increase of such a charge, been the only ill-consequence that attended it; for, by this means, the debt of the navy hath been enhanced, so that the discounts arising from the credit of it, have affected all other parts of the service. From the same cause, your Majesty's ships of war have been forced, in greater numbers, to continue in remote seas, and at unseasonable times of the year, to the great damage and decay of the British navy. This, also, hath been the occasion that your Majesty hath been straitened in your convoys for trade; your coasts have been exposed, for want of a sufficient number of cruisers to guard them, and you have been disabled from annoying the enemy in their most beneficial commerce with the West Indies, from whence they received those vast supplies of treasure, without which they could not have supported the expences of this war."

the States, who were averse to that peace, to reply as they did to this accusation; which, however, instead of satisfying, provoked the House of Commons to such a degree, that, upon the printing of the answer they gave here, they declared that this was a breach of privilege, and the paper itself a scandalous, infamous, and seditious libel; for which the printer was put in prison, which prevented the publishing the remainder of the State's representation.* This was looked upon as a very strange procedure, and which seemed calculated rather to give credit to that repre-

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* The States-general, by their memorial presented to the queen, April 3, 1712, observe, that the grand alliance only specifies, that all the contracting parties shall prosecute this war with their whole force: and, therefore, if the States have exerted the utmost of their force, they have fulfilled their engagements; but they insist further, that the ships furnished for the north sea, had been left out, notwithstanding those ships were for the joint service; and they allege further, that the number of ships which the States were to employ, ought to be regulated, not by the number actually put into commission by England, but by the number that was fit and reasonable for England to put into commission, or at least by the number proposed to the States, upon settling the annual quotas for the war. As the States had the paper drawn up by order of the lords of the Admiralty, and signed by Mr. Secretary Burchet, containing an account of the English and Dutch ships fitted out during the war; so they likewise thought proper to add another account of their own, which they professed themselves able to make good from authentic vouchers; and as we cannot transcribe all these papers at large, we shall content ourselves with making an abstract of both accounts, in which the first column consists of the year; the second of the English men of war; the third of the ships of the States-general, according to Mr. Burchet's account; and the fourth of the ships according to their own. This paper having been printed, in part, in the Daily Courant of Monday, April 7, 1712, the House of Commons came thereupon to the resolution mentioned in the text, and committed Mr. Samuel Buckley for printing it, who remained in custody during the remainder of the session.

1702	74	33	55	1707	72	27	49
1703	79	22	50	1708	69	25	53
1704	74	18	56	1709	60	11	50
1705	79	20	56	1710	62	13	43
1706	78	15	54	1711	59	12	40

sentation, than to refute it; which, however, might have been easily done; for that we really bore a greater proportion of expence in this respect during the war, than we ought to have done, is a thing very certain; but it is the fault of all administrations, to be rather inclined to such short answers as may be given by acts of power, than to those that might be furnished by the exercise of reason; and for this they are deservedly punished, by being often thought tyrannical in those acts, the justice of which might be easily defended. In this case, however, the nation concurred in opinion with their representatives, and things went on, upon a supposition that this charge against the Dutch was fully made out; which encouraged the friends of the ministry to attack the rest of our allies, particularly the emperor, on the same subject: but, as these altercations have no immediate concern with the proper business of my work, I shall not insist upon them, but leave them with this remark, that, in all future alliances, our ministers ought to be careful, not only in making the best terms they can for the nation, but also in seeing those terms punctually fulfilled, since it is impossible, especially under our present circumstances, for the nation to bear with patience such acts of indulgence towards foreigners, at their expence, when it is visible, that, with all their industry, the inhabitants of Great Britain are scarcely able to support the necessary charges of their government, joined to that vast expence which their generous concern for the balance of power in Europe, and the liberty of their neighbours hath brought upon them.*

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* The best use that can be made of history is, to correct, in our times, the errors committed in those of our ancestors; and certainly there are, among these, none which better deserve our attention, than the conduct our ministers have pursued, when we have engaged in confederacy with our neighbours. A confederacy implies a joint concern, and if, while this subsists, the whole, or by far the greatest part of the expence is thrown upon any one

The difference with the French court was occasioned chiefly from M. Cassard's expedition in the West Indies, as we have before hinted. The French ministry, who knew the importance of being well at that time with the people of Great Britain, absolutely disclaimed that commander; insisting that he had only general instructions, that he had misapplied them, and that proper satisfaction should be given. On the other hand, the British ministry were too far advanced in their pacific measures, to think of retreating, and so were content with these excuses, without insisting on the punishment of this officer; which, if what the French court said was true, he certainly deserved.

The first great step to the peace was, getting Dunkirk put into our hands, which was represented as a thing impossible; and with the promise of which the French only amused us. On the 11th of July, however, arrived an express, with the news, that a few days before, the town, citadel, Rysbank, and all the fortifications of that important place, were delivered up to Brigadier Hill, whom her Majesty appointed governor and commander-in-chief. Her Majesty, thenceforward, treated openly with the French court, though always under a promise that due care should be taken of the allies; and for this the ministry pleaded many things in their own justification. For, first, they alleged, that since the king of Spain was become emperor, it was no longer requisite to insist upon his having the whole dominions of the Spanish monarchy: they insisted next, that if it had been ever so requisite, the thing was impracticable, the nation having found, by experience, that it was impossible

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of the allied powers, it argues injustice in the rest, and weakness in such as are entrusted with the concerns of the injured power. There is actually no more public spirit in a minister loading clandestinely his countrymen with more than they ought to pay, than there is charity in a great man's steward, who relieves the poor out of his master's estate, while his creditors remain unsatisfied.

to carry on the war in Spain to any purpose. This had indeed been long a point out of dispute; one of the warmest partisans of the house of Austria having freely declared as much a good while before, in a debate in the House of Lords; but added at the same time, though it was impracticable, a vote that no peace could be made, if Spain and the Indies were left to the house of Bourbon, was expedient at that juncture; and yet upon this expedient, and at the same time impracticable vote, all the clamours were afterwards raised. The friends to the treaty said farther, that the nation was unable to carry on the war longer, especially in the manner in which it had been carried on; and that, therefore, how much soever we might hate our enemies it was necessary to make a peace, if we had any regard for ourselves. They added, besides, that they intended to make a peace on the plan of the general alliance, every article of which, they said, had been broken through, by subsequent agreements during the course of the war; so that they would be thought to have the cause of liberty, and the balance of power more at heart, than even those who were for carrying on the war.

On the 19th of August, 1712, an instrument for a suspension of arms was signed at Paris by the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, and the Marquis De Torcy, for four months; and, in consequence of this, the necessary measures were taken for completing the peace: King Philip of Spain summoned a cortez, or general assembly of the states of his kingdom, before whom, and with whose consent, he made a renunciation of the crown of France, the queen having before appointed Lord Lexington to be present at that ceremony. The negociations at Utrecht, however, went on very slowly, notwithstanding the pains taken by the earl of Strafford,* and Doctor Robinson, bishop of Bristol, her Majesty's plenipotentiaries; and the great activity of the French ministers, who were the Marshal D'Uxelles, a very able statesman, of whom Prince Eugene said, with great spirit, upon this occasion, that he was the only French marshal he feared; the famous Abbe De Polignac, afterwards cardinal by the same title, the ablest head in France; and M. Mesnager, now raised to the title of Count De St. John, who was entrusted with the first negociations; and from this slowness it was found necessary to renew the suspension of arms four months longer.

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* The connection necessary in the text obliges me to mention here, that, about the latter end of August, her Majesty appointed the earl of Strafford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Knights,

At last, when the great influence of the queen was discerned, by her procuring the kingdom of Sicily for her cousin the duke of Savoy, which was her Majesty's own act, the allies, most of them, thought fit to comply, and accept the terms she had stipulated for them, though with a visible reluctance. The emperor only remained firm to his first resolution, and made the necessary dispositions for carrying on the war alone; consenting, however, to evacuate Catalonia, and to accept of a neutrality for Italy, under the guaranty of her Britannic Majesty. On the 19th of January, 1712-13, the new treaty of barrier and succession was signed by the ministers of Great Britain, and of the States-general, whereby the latter obtained a mighty accession of territories, and a very great increase of power. On the 1st of March, the instruments relating to Catalonia and Italy were executed; and, on the 4th of the same month, the duke of Berry, and the duke of Orleans, renounced their right to the crown of Spain, in the parliament of Paris. These preliminaries being thus settled, the great work advanced more briskly, and by the end of the month, it was brought to its conclusion.

Sir William Drake, Bart. John Aislabie, Esq. Sir James Wishart, Knight, and George Clark, Esq. to be commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain.

On the 1st of April, 1713, the famous treaty of Utrecht was signed, as some would have us believe, in a clandestine manner. The truth was, that to prevent disputes and protests, which might have furnished matter for dangerous pursuits in England, it was resolved to sign the treaty privately, at the house of the bishop of Bristol, which was accordingly done, under pretence of a conference; which being a thing frequent during that congress, rendered the matter less suspected. The earl of Strafford, and the bishop of Bristol, signed first; then the ministers of the duke of Savoy, declared king of Sicily by that treaty; those of the king of Portugal after them; then the plenipotentiaries of the king of Prussia, and those of the States-general last of all. The whole was over about two in the morning, occasioned by the length of the treaties that were to be read before they were signed; and when the business was ended, the respective ministers withdrew to their own places of residence, without any noise, or without directing any public rejoicings, as might have been expected upon such an occasion.

I have been the more particular in these circumstances, because some historians have represented them as matters of great importance. To speak impartially, I think there is very little, if any thing, in them; for in most separate treaties of peace, the same thing has been done, particularly in that of Nimeguen; and I could name other, perhaps later, examples of a like conduct; so that, upon the whole, this ought to be considered rather as a misfortune than a fault. I shall not pretend to insist, that all was obtained, by the treaty of Utrecht, that might have been obtained from France, after so long and so successful a war; but undoubtedly there was much obtained, and more might have been obtained, if it had not been for the disturbance given to the ministers at home, since, whatever people may suggest, all parties are alike friends to France, who thwart public measures, from a pure spirit of opposition. The Tories had embarrassed the Whigs in their administration, during the last years of the war; and the Whigs, in return, were resolved to make the Tories as uneasy as possible, in their project of making a peace. Both parties were in their turns gainers by this manner of acting; but both were gainers at the expence of the nation; and therefore as they have no reason, they have as little right to reproach each other.*

I have said, there was much obtained by the treaty of Utrecht; it is requisite that I should make this good, because for many years, the contrary has been taken for granted; and I dare say, there are many thousands of people in England, who think we lost much, and none of our allies got any thing, by that peace. The true standard for adjusting this, must be the ends of the war; for as no war can be just, in which the aggressors know not for what they fight, so no peace can be a bad one, by which the ends of the war are obtained.

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* The earl of Oxford, in the close of his answer to the articles of impeachment, gives a very full and clear account of the motives to the peace upon his own knowledge; and as they are hidden in such a piece, to which few readers resort for satisfaction in matters of this nature, I thought it might not be amiss, to make this subject the clearer, to afford them a place at the bottom of the page. As to the peace in general, he, the said earl, thinks he has very good reason to say, that the queen had nothing more at heart, than to procure so great a blessing for her people; and that, when it was obtained, she had this satisfaction in herself, that she had taken the most proper methods to justify her conduct, both towards her allies, and towards her own subjects. For, upon a review of her Majesty's whole proceeding, in relation to war and peace, he believes it will appear, and hath in part appeared, by the answer of the said earl to the said articles, that, as her Majesty entered further into the war than she was obliged by any treaties subsisting at the time of her accession to the throne, so she contributed more men and money towards the carrying it on afterwards, than she was engaged to provide by any subsequent treaties. That her earnest desires of peace being twice frustrated, when such conditions might have been obtained, as would have fully answered all the ends for which war was at first declared: that all our successes and victories ending in the annual increase of the charge of England, without any further assistance from our allies, and her kingdom being exhausted to such a degree, notwithstanding the great advantages obtained by her arms, that she was not able to continue the war, upon the foot it then stood, one year longer, whilst her allies refused to continue it upon those equal conditions to which they were by treaties obliged: she was at last constrained, in compassion to her people, to hearken to the overtures of peace then made her from France, without relying further on the vain hopes of gaining more advantageous terms, by protracting the war a year longer. She had carried it on for

In the first place, we fought against France to settle ourselves; that crown had never explicitly acknowledged our government here at home. We fought next, for settling the balance of power in Europe, by obtaining a reasonable satisfaction for the

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some time under that prospect, without reaping the benefits proposed, even at junctures that seemed most favourable to her demands, and to the pretensions of her allies. She had, indeed, by that means, raised the glory of her arms; but she could not think this a sufficient recompence for the increasing miseries of her people, and therefore resolved to lay hold of the opportunity, then offered to her, of ending the war with a peace, if it might be obtained upon terms every way just, safe, and honourable; and those who were then employed in her Majesty's councils, thought themselves obliged to second her good intentions in this case, and to obey her commands with all readiness. The said earl presumes, on this occasion, to mention to your lordships, the saying of as wise a man, and as great a general as the last age produced, the duke of Parma, when France was in a far lower condition than now, being almost equally divided between two contending parties, and Spain was at the height of its glory, and he himself at the head of a Spanish army, supported one of those parties, after Paris itself had been besieged by the other; it was his opinion, and the advice he gave to his Majesty the king of Spain was grounded upon it, " That if France were to be got, only by reducing its towns, the world would sooner be at an end than such a war. The queen seemed at this time, with better reason, to frame the like judgment, and it was therefore her pleasure, and a great instance, as the said earl conceives, of her wisdom and goodness, to think of securing a peace, while she appeared able to carry on the war, her armies being full and numerous, and before the exhausted condition of her kingdoms, and the impossibility, on her side, of maintaining so disproportionate an expence, was discovered by her enemies.

claims of the house of Austria to Spain and the Indies. Another motive to the war was, the securing a barrier to the Dutch, and an adequate recompence to the rest of our allies, for the injuries they had received from France. Let us see now what was obtained by the treaty of Utrecht, upon these several heads. In the first place, the title of Queen Anne was acknowledged in the strongest and most explicit terms; the settlement of the succession in the illustrious house of Hanover was likewise owned, and the person who claimed before the queen, and to defeat whose pretensions the act of settlement was made, was excluded the dominions of France, and his Most Christian Majesty promised never to admit him again, though he had owned him over and over; and he likewise promised never to assist or protect him, or any of his adherents. As to the second, a reasonable satisfaction was obtained for the emperor, though he refused to accept it; and the most solemn renunciations of the two branches of the house of Bourbon, are inserted in the body of the treaty itself, in order, as far as the thing was possible, to secure all Europe against the apprehensions of seeing the crowns of France and Spain devolve upon one prince; and, to obviate another objection as to the commerce of New Spain, it is expressly provided, that the French should enjoy no privilege of navigation thither, beyond what had been enjoyed under the kings of Spain of the Austrian line. In regard to our allies, it is plain, that the duke of Savoy, who indeed well deserved it, having steadily adhered to the alliance in times of the deepest distress, had full satisfaction given him, and in such a manner too, as had a visible tendency to the properly fixing the balance of power; and the kings of Portugal, Prussia, and the States were likewise satisfied.

I know it may be said, that there was a force upon the latter; but I know people are very unfit judges in their own cause, and that the States got by this treaty, not only such a barrier as seemed reasonable to us, but as good a one as the emperor thought fit for them, after all our successes, and when the allies were upon the best terms with each other. To say then, that the treaty of Utrecht did nothing, and that all our expences, and all our victories in that long war were absolutely thrown away, is much beyond the truth; but that a better treaty might have been made, I shall not dispute, because I think there is no arguing about possibilities.*

Before I part with this treaty, however, I must observe, that it was very extraordinary in one respect; it procured us much greater advantages, I mean the people of Great Britain, as a trading nation, than any treaty with which I am acquainted either before or since; and upon these, I must particularly insist, because they are immediately within my province. We have seen that Dunkirk was long before put into our hands; let us now see what was to become of it; and because this is a point that has been since, and, may be hereafter attended with warm disputes, I think it necessary to transcribe the ninth article of the treaty, by which this great point, great, indeed, if we consider either the humbling France, or securing ourselves, was effectually settled. Thus it runs:

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* The account Bishop Burnet has given us, will be sufficient to clear up to the reader, the satisfaction secured to the princes and states engaged with us in the war. "As for the allies," says he, "Portugal and Savoy were satisfied; the emperor was to have the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands; Sicily was to be given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king; and Sardinia, with the same title, was to be given to the elector of Bavaria, in lieu of his losses; the States were to deliver up Lisle, and the little places about it; and besides the places of which they were possessed, they were to have Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburgh, Ypres, and Newport; the king of Prussia was to have the Upper Guelder, in lieu of Orange, and the other estates which the family had in Franche Comte." This is all I think necessary to insert here, with relation to our treaty; the emperor was to have time, to the 1st of June, to declare his accepting of it.

"The Most Christian king shall take care, that all the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk be razed; that the harbour be filled up; and that the sluices, or moles, which serve to cleanse the harbour, be levelled, and that, at the same king's own expence, within the space of five months after the conditions of peace are concluded and signed; that is to say, the fortifications towards the sea, within the space of two months; and those towards the land, together with the said banks, within three months; on this express condition also, that the said fortifications, harbour, moles, or sluices, be never repaired again."

The demolition of this place was of prodigious importance; it lies but thirteen leagues from the South Foreland, and any easterly wind, which carries our ships down the Channel, brings out those at Dunkirk, to meet and intercept them; which, during the two wars preceding this treaty, made it often suspected, that the French had intelligence, either from our Admiralty, or secretary's office; though very probably without foundation, since the very situation of the place furnished the enemy with advantages enough; for the east end of the channel, which is so much exposed to Dunkirk, is but seven leagues broad, and gives them an opportunity of seeing our ships from side to side. It clearly appears from hence, that six parts in nine of our trade from the port of London, were freed from most of the hazards felt in those wars; and though part of this must be exposed when it passes through the chops, or western entrance of the channel, yet it must be considered, that it was liable also to this before, so that no new inconvenience is created; and, besides, this is only the south trade; such ships as go to Holland, Hamburgh, or the north, are absolutely free. Besides all this, the demolition of Dunkirk was an inexpressible blow to the French naval power, and even to their trade, especially to the West Indies; so that a clearer proof could not be of our superior force, and of their distress, than the submission of France to this article. It is true, they endeavoured to shift off, and afterwards to mitigate the execution of it; but in vain. The queen insisted upon Dunkirk's being demolished effectually, according to the letter, and it was demolished as effectually as could be desired; whether ever it shall be restored, or if in time of war restored, suffered to continue, so as to become, as in times past, a terror to the English nation, depends upon ourselves and future administrations.

By the 10th and 11th articles, the countries comprised in the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, of which the French had got possession, partly in the time of peace, and partly in that of war, were to be restored; and not only restored, but his Most Christian Majesty farther stipulated, that whatever had been taken in time of peace, or whatever injuries had been done to the Hudson's Bay Company, before the commencement of the war, should be fairly examined, and full satisfaction made. The like is stipulated with respect to the depredations by M. Cassard, in the Leeward Islands after the negociations for peace were begun.

By the 12th article, the island of St. Christopher, and the whole country of Nova Scotia, are yielded to the queen of Great Britain, as by the 13th article, is the whole country of Newfoundland; but the island of Cape Breton is, by the same article, given up to France, which has been represented as a monstrous piece of complaisance, though there seems to be great reason to believe, it was much less owing to the inclination of the English ministers, than to their inability of standing out any longer against the opposition carried on at home; and for this reason it is made one of the charges against the earl of Oxford, in the 13th article of his impeachment, wherein it was affirmed, that Cape Breton was part of Nova Scotia; and the earl in his answer to that article asserts, that he had gone no farther than King William had gone in the treaty of Ryswick. But, however we might fail as to the point of Cape Breton, yet undoubtedly we acquired more by the treaty of Utrecht, than by any of our former treaties; I mean at the expence of the French, who at the time this treaty was signed, were actually in possession of Placentia in Newfoundland.*

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* The earl of Oxford, even after he was impeached, thought he had a right to value himself upon this treaty; and, therefore, in his answer, after having taken notice of the difficulties to which we were reduced by the war, he proceeds to speak in the following terms, of the advantages accruing from the treaty of Utrecht. At this juncture the queen entered upon a negociation of peace, with circumstances of great honour to herself: France applying to her first on this account, previously owning her title, and acknowledging the right of the Protestant succession, two chief grounds upon which the declaration of the last war was built. As to the allies, it was conducted in the same manner as all treaties of peace, in confederacies, have ever been, and according to the known laws of nations in such cases, the first motion and the several steps to it, as fast as they ripened into proposals fit for consideration, being, without delay, communicated to the States General. By the terms of this peace, as all reasonable satisfaction and security, due to any of the allies by treaty, were obtained for them by the queen, and their just pretensions effectually supported, so larger advantages were actually procured for Great Britain, in particular, than ever had been demanded before, in any treaty or negociation between this and any other foreign state. The said earl craves leave on this occasion, to appeal to your lordships, whether all the ends for which the war was entered into, have not by this treaty been fully attained? Whether it does not appear by the best of proofs, experience, that the kingdoms of France and Spain, are, by the conventions of this treaty, most effectually separated? And whether any other expedient could have been so successful to this purpose, as that whereby it is now happily brought about? Whether the balance of power in Europe be not now upon a better footing than it has been for an hundred years past? Whether the advantages that have accrued to Great Britain by this treaty, do not appear, and have not appeared, in the security of the Protestant succession, and in his Majesty's peaceable accession to the throne, with the universal applause of his subjects; in the addition made to our wealth in the great quantities of bullion lately coined at the mint; by the vast increase of shipping employed since the peace, in the fishery, and in merchandise, and by the remarkable rise of the customs upon import, and of our manufactures, and the growth of our country upon export? For the proof of which particulars, he

But, besides these mighty advantages, there were others still more considerable, the demolition of Dunkirk only excepted, procured from the crown of Spain; for by the 10th article, the full and entire property of the town and castle of Gibraltar, with all things thereto belonging, are given up to the crown of Great Britain, in propriety, to be held and enjoyed absolutely, with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or impediment whatsoever. By the 11th article, his Catholic Majesty doth in like manner, for himself, his heirs, and successors, yield to the crown of England, the whole island of Minorca, transferring to the said crown for ever, all right, and the most absolute dominion over the said island, and in particular over the town, castle, and fortifications of Port Mahon. All that Spain reserves to itself, being no more than the right of pre-emption, in case the crown of Great Britain shall at any time think fit to alienate or dispose of the said fortress of Gibraltar, or island of Minorca. By the 13th and 15th articles, the Assiento treaty is confirmed as fully, effectually, and authentically, as if the same had been repeated word for word in the said treaty, which was signed at Utrecht, on the 2d of July, O. S. by the bishop of Bristol, then lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford, her Majesty's plenipotentiaries, and the Duke De Ossuna, and the Marquis De Montelon, plenipotentiaries from his Catholic Majesty.*

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refers himself to those offices and books, wherein an authentic account of them is contained.

* As to this treaty with Spain, the earl of Oxford, in his answer to the impeachment, let us into a fact of very great import; for, says he, as for the matters concerted previously with France, for the particular interest of England, without the original intervention of Holland, the States were so far from protesting against her Majesty's measures, and condemning her conduct in this respect, that their minister proffered several times, in their name, to have led the way in the most difficult part of the whole negociation, and to have done his utmost to facilitate the conclusion of it, provided his masters might have a share in the Assiento contract, and trade to the

The ASSIENTO has since made so great a figure in our histories, and there will be such frequent occasion to mention it in the subsequent part of this work, as that contract was the basis of the South Sea trade, that I find myself under a necessity, as well for the sake of order and perspicuity, as for the performance of what I promised, to enter into a full and regular account of all the steps taken for erecting and establishing this great company, which was one of the most signal performances of the Oxford ministry.*

The earl of Godolphin, and his friends, had been peculiarly happy in the conduct of public affairs, and the maintenance of public credit, so long as the opposition given them did not rise so high, as to hinder their carrying public points in the House of Commons; but after they once found themselves in that situation, their difficulties grew upon them daily, so that they were forced to contract debts in the public service, exclusive of such as were contracted, and provided for annually by parliament. At first these debts were seldom mentioned, some of them being pretty old, and others incurred by deficiencies, and the application of funds to other services than those for which they were originally designed. The drawing these debts out of obscurity, and declaring them unprovided for, was one of the first acts of the new ministry.†

Spanish West Indies, one of those advantages which France had discovered its willingness should be allowed, previously, and entirely to England.

* Subsequent events may mislead us, in respect to the value of this concession. But if experience, for we actually had this contract for negroes in the reign of King William; if the opinion of other nations, for the French lost it with regret, and the Dutch were eager for a share in it, or the sense of our Spanish merchants, could ascertain the point, this was a valuable acquisition.

† The debts declared by the statute are as follow;

Debt to the navy, old, new, and deficient	5,130,539
Debt to the ordnance	154,324
Debt to transport-service	424,791

Their next care was, to form the proprietors of these debts into a new company, which, they conceived, would be as much dependent upon, and as useful to them, as the Bank, or East India company had been to the former ministry. But the business was, to find out a proper pretence of erecting such a new company; and this was very happily found, and very dexterously applied. It was always matter of wonder to the greatest part of this nation, why the war was not pushed in the West Indies; especially, since there was a clause in the grand alliance, whereby we were intitled to hold whatever we could conquer in those parts. Some political reasons, however, restrained the vigour of our arms in that particular; and this, though the old ministry were very little to blame in it, made one great topic of public clamour.

When a thing is once made the theme of common discourse, many lights come to be struck out in relation to it, that were not thought of before; and this was the case here: some merchants of Bristol taking this matter into consideration, began to apprehend, that, however the ministry might be bound, private persons were not obliged to let slip advantages of this nature; and therefore they resolved to fit out two ships for the South Seas, upon their private account; which they did; and these ships returning in the year 1711, after having made many rich prizes, the

Old army-debentures of last war	1,018,656
Deficient tallies 8 Guliel.	12,024
Provisions for the navy, Oct. Nov. Dec. 1710	378,859
Subsidies to the duchy of Hanover, 1696	85,000
Interest on ditto, from Christmas 1710 and 1711	9,375
Loans on customs, &c. 8 Annæ	1,296,552
Interest on ditto	74,876
Interest on the whole from Lady day to Christmas, 1711	386,325
To the year's service 1711	500,000
Add, for odd shillings and pence	3
	£. 9,171,324

wealth of the South Seas came to make a great noise.*

This determined the new ministry to join an ample security for the debts hitherto unprovided for, with the prospect of the trade from the South Seas, and by this means, fix their whole design at once. Upon this plan, they made some proposals to the monied people, who, having been long attached to the former administration, treated the whole as chimerical, and a project that could never be brought to bear. I mention this circumstance, only to shew how little dependence should be placed on the resolution of men who, are known to be governed by nothing but their interests; for, notwithstanding their slighting the proposal when it was first made, Lord Oxford and his friends carried on this scheme with success.†

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* As the business of this voyage to the South Seas very nearly concerns the subject of this work, it may not be amiss to take notice, as concisely as possible, of the most remarkable circumstances attending this affair. The ships fitted out upon this occasion, were the Duke of thirty guns, and 170 men, commanded by Captain Woods Rogers; and the Duchess, of twenty-six guns, and 150 men, under the command of Stephen Courtney. The famous Captain Dampier, whose voyages have made him known throughout Europe, was on board one of these vessels, as pilot; they sailed from Bristol on the 1st of August, 1708, and having happily passed the Straits of Magellan, they not only took several ships in the South Seas, but several towns also upon the coast; and on the 22d of December, 1709, they met with the Acapulco ship, that is, the lesser of the two ships which sail annually from the East Indies to Mexico; she was of the burden of 400 tons, and carried twenty guns, and as many pattereroes. The action lasted about half an hour, and the value of the prize was about 2,000,000 pieces of eight; the larger Acapulco ship fell also in their way, which they attacked two days successively; but, as she was of 900 tons burden, and had 600 men on board, they found it impossible to take her, which made them determine to return by the East Indies; Captain Dover being appointed commander of the Acapulco ship, with which they arrived safely in the Downs, on the 2d of October, 1711.

† This settling the unliquidated debts, giving satisfaction thereby to the public creditors, and framing the plan of the South-Sea company, are all enumerated in the preamble of the patent, creating him earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer.

In the first place, they took care to give a very plausible account to the world, of the nature of this undertaking; and, which shewed their political dexterity, they made the very contempt, which was at first expressed for their design, subservient to its extension; for they gave out, that the last ministry having been careless of the nation's interest in this respect, were desirous of covering their reputation, by representing that as impracticable, which they had never attempted.* They took notice likewise of its having been always thought the surest way of distressing the Spaniards; and, to demonstrate this, they printed a proposal of the like nature, which was made in parliament, so long ago as in the year 1624. They further observed, that this was prosecuting the war against the French too, who carried on a mighty trade in the South Seas, and were actually making settlements there. This took off the edge from every argument that could be offered, as to the impossibility of the design; for all who talked in that style were considered now as enemies to the English nation, and persons absolutely in a foreign interest.

To give the thing the highest gloss, and to fix the nation in a full opinion of the great profit that might be made by this trade, care was taken to circulate a notion in Holland, about the time that Sir Hovenden Walker undertook his expedition against Canada, that the true intention of that armament was against Peru. This had the designed effect; the Dutch took umbrage at it, and expressed loudly enough their dissatisfaction at our entering on any such views. This answered the end proposed, and begot an extraordinary concurrence in the new scheme here. The debts unprovided for, were next liquidated at 9,471,324*l.* on which an annuity at the rate of 6*l.* *per cent.* was granted, until the principal was paid, which annuity amounted to 568,279*l.*

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* There appeared several treatises about this time, on the subject, the titles of some of which are worth preserving, (1.) A Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the settling a trade to the South Sea of America, with reasons for encouraging a Commerce between Great Britain and the countries situated in those seas. London, 1711, 4to. (2.) A True Account of the design and advantages of a South Sea Trade, with answers to all the objections made against it. London, 1711, 8vo. (3.) An Essay on the nature and methods of carrying on a trade to the South Seas. By Robert Allan, who resided some years in the kingdom of Peru. London, 1712, 8vo.

The company was incorporated for carrying on a trade to the South Seas; and, by their charter, there was invested in them and their successors, the sole trade into, and from, all the kingdoms and lands on the east side of America, from the river Oroonoko, to the southernmost part of Terra del Fuego, and on the west side thereof, from the said southernmost part of Terra del Fuego, through the South Sea, to the northernmost part of America, and into, and from all the countries, islands, and places, within the said limits, which are reputed to belong to Spain, or which shall hereafter be found out, or discovered within the limits aforesaid, not exceeding three hundred leagues from the continent of America, on the said west side thereof, except the kingdom of Brazil, and such other places on the east side of America, as are now in the possession of the king of Portugal, and the country of Surinam, in the possession of the States-general. And to give the thing still the greater sanction, the said company, and none else, were to trade within the said limits; and if any other person should presume to trade to the South Seas, they were to forfeit the ship and goods, and double the value: one fourth part to the crown; another fourth part to the prosecutor; and the remaining half to the use of the company. It is also provided, that the company shall be the sole owners of the islands, forts, &c. which they shall discover, and erect within the said limits, to be held of the crown, under the annual rent of one ounce of gold, and of all ships taken as prize, by the ships of the said company, and the company may seize, by force of arms, all other British ships trading in those seas.*

The stock of this corporation was to arise from the subscription of these public debts, and the sum of 8,279*l.* was granted for the charges of management; and as trade could not be carried on without money, so the governor and directors of the new company had power, by their charter, to make any call, not exceeding ten *per cent.* for the prosecution of this trade.

The lord high-treasurer Oxford, than whom no minister had cleaner hands, or a sounder head, saw, with great satisfaction, the South Sea company's stock subscribed, by the very people who, upon its first proposal, had treated his project as a chimera. He knew, much better than they, how far it was chimerical; he knew that no advantageous trade could be carried on according to the scheme of the charter; but when the charter was granted, it was too early for him to discover what he really meant by trade to the South Seas. In the year 1713, the Assiento treaty, or agreement between King Philip of Spain, and the Guinea company in France, for the furnishing negroes to the West Indies, determined; and the lord-treasurer had an agent of his in Spain, who took notice of it to the Duke D'Ossuna, hinting also, that the granting this to the English might prove a means towards bringing about a peace; inasmuch, as this had been one of the principal points proposed by the private treaty between Great Britain and King Charles. The proposal was eagerly embraced, because it not only had a tendency to answer the great end of settling King Philip's title; but it also gave a handle to the Spaniards to rid themselves of the French, whose dealings in the South Seas had long given them, as it ought to have given us, great umbrage.*

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* This was, indeed, liable to the objection made by some of the writers before-mentioned, that the trade was chimerical, as in truth the company never attempted to send a ship into the South Sea. But the minister had very just reasons to proceed as he did. First, he was obliged to settle the company without loss of time, and, while the war continued, expeditions might have been made into the South Seas. Secondly, the forming this company, and the tenor of its charter, alarmed the Spaniards, and disposed them to make any concessions, in order to procure a peace with Britain. Thirdly, the Assiento was obtained for this company, in lieu of this trade granted them to the South Sea.

Thus this wise and able minister brought about in Spain, what few had any thoughts of in England; and procured this to be offered by King Philip, as a means of conciliating the interests of the two crowns, and renewing the old correspondence between the two nations. In consequence of this, a project, consisting of forty-two articles, was delivered to his Catholic Majesty, who, on the 26th of March, 1713, ratified them by his royal decree at Madrid; and these are the articles so solemnly confirmed in the treaty of peace before-mentioned, and which have been the basis of the trade carried on by the South-Sea company; and which, if it has not, might certainly have been made extremely beneficial to this nation.

This Assiento contract stipulates, in the first place, that from the 1st of May 1713, to the 1st of May 1743, the company shall transport into the Spanish West Indies one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes of both sexes, and of all ages, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred negroes every year; that for each negroe the Assientists shall pay thirty-three and one third pieces of eight, in full for all royal duties; that the said Assientists shall advance his Catholic Majesty two hundred thousand pieces of eight, upon the terms prescribed in the contract; that twice a-year they shall pay the before-mentioned duties of four thousand negroes, his Catholic Majesty giving them the duty on the other eight hundred, to balance their risk, and extraordinary expences; that his Catholic Majesty, and the queen of Great Britain shall each be concerned a quarter part in the said trade, and shall be allowed a quarter of the profits, which shall be accounted for, by the Assientists, upon oath, that during the space, neither the French Guinea company, nor the subjects of any other crown, shall have any licence to import negroes; and in case they should import them, they shall be considered as contraband, and the company shall have power to confiscate them, with many other clauses for the security of this trade, which are not necessary for me here to mention. I shall content myself with observing, that the rights and privileges granted by this contract, were all by direction from the queen, properly assigned to the South Sea Company; and though it might be, as I believe it was, true, that a little jobbing was practised in making the assignments, yet the whole was most advantageous to this nation; and if we have not reaped such benefits from this contract as we might have done, we ought not to blame the treaty of Utrecht, but ourselves; for there is no serving any nation after it is come to a certain height of corruption.

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* This leads me to take notice of an immediate and capital advantage which resulted to Britain from this transaction. It wrought upon the natural jealousy of the Spaniards, who never rested till they ridded themselves of the French traders, who were become perfectly well acquainted with the route by Cape Horn, and had even passed this way to the East Indies, and so round by the Cape of Good Hope to Europe, as appears by Frezier's and Barbinai's Voyages; and, but for this treaty, no question, would, in the space of a few years, have worked themselves into a regular correspondence this way into both Indies.

It has been suggested, that, whatever benefits we might receive by this treaty, there were still much greater advantages that might have been acquired, if we had not suffered them to slip through our fingers. I shall take some notice of these. In the first place, it has been said, that we might have made ourselves masters of the Indies, or at least of the trade of them. I do not see how this can be proved. For, on the one hand, our open enemies were extremely strong there, so as not only to act upon the defensive, but even to attack and that successfully too, the settlements of our allies, the Portuguese; and, on the other hand, not the Dutch only, but all the confederates were extremely averse to our making conquests in the West Indies; which were amongst the true and weighty reasons why, under the earl of Godolphin's administration, they were forborne.

In time of war, therefore, it does not appear we were able to do much against the Spaniards, and against the French we were still in a worse condition; for in the islands they were too strong for us, from their having but few colonies, and those well peopled; and in Canada they found that the situation of the country and its climate sufficiently defended them against all we could do. It was only in Newfoundland that we had any prospect of making conquests; and there they gave us up Placentia, the only place they held.

I have already mentioned the affair of Cape Breton, which some writers have called a mine of gold, given up by the treaty of Utrecht to the French; and the reason assigned for it is this: that if that island had not been left to the French, we should have possessed the fishery in that part of the world without a rival; and might consequently have made what market of it we pleased. Yet, however acceptable this reason may be at home, I am sure nothing raises us so many enemies abroad; the notion of monopolizing trade, and shutting our neighbours out of it by force, has a very bad effect, and is the engine constantly made use of by the French, to prejudice our once good allies the Dutch against us. I crave leave to add, that experience hath shewn the fact to be otherwise than it was then represented; we were, till the last war with

Spain in possession of a very great trade in Newfoundland; and, whenever a definitive peace is made, on the conclusion of the present,* care will no doubt be taken that it shall be secured to us in its full extent, as a compensation for our expence, and then I conceive we shall have no great cause to murmur.

We find it also objected, that greater security was not obtained for us in the Mediterranean; where, they say, we should not only have had Gibraltar, but a territory round it. It were to be wished they had given us a plan of this fortress, with the territory they expected, and then at the close of the ensuing war, perhaps it might have been obtained. But it is our misfortune, that even in points of such importance as these, we borrow our opinions rather from the parties to which we attach ourselves, than from the nature of things themselves. For let it be remembered, that many of those who insisted with the utmost vehemence on this error in the treaty of Utrecht, afterwards, when their schemes of politics were changed, were as warm in asserting, that Gibraltar and Port Mahon too were of little or no use, and were actually inclined to give them up to Spain, not in consideration of any equivalent to be given to Great Britain, but in order to have such a peace made, as would suit the interest of our foreign allies. It is not, therefore, easy to discern, through the mists of parties, what in this respect are the true interests of Britain.†

All that can be fairly said of this matter, lies in a narrow compass: the security of our trade in the Mediterranean is well provided for, by our having in our possession the very best haven in the Mediterranean, I mean that of Port Mahon, the influence derived from which, when properly attended to, must always make us masters of those seas, and put it in our power to give law to the French. If an English civil government were once established in the island of Minorca, and a large well-built city erected there, capable of becoming the centre of our trade in those parts, we should very soon see the worth of that island, and recover the best part of the trade we have lost. But military governments agree so little with the industry of a trading people, and are in themselves so repugnant to the genius of the British nation, that I do not at all wonder men of good sense, and those too of all parties, have secretly an inclination, that both Gibraltar and Minorca should be given up for the same reason that the patriots in King Charles IId.'s reign, forced him to part with Tangiers. But, be this as it will, we certainly have no right to cry down the treaty of Utrecht, for furnishing us with advantages, which our own corruption will not allow us to keep.

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* This work was first published in 1744.

† The figure we make, as a maritime power, in Europe, requires we should have proper stations in the Mediterranean; it will be the peculiar and perpetual glory of this reign, that in it they were gained: experience has shewn their utility, and, against such arguments, conjectures and plausibilities will never avail.

To conclude this part of my subject, I must observe, that, upon the close of the war, the French found themselves totally deprived of all pretensions to the dominion of the sea. We have, in part, already demonstrated this; but something more remains to be said here. Most of our conquests, indeed all of them that were of any use to us, were made, or at least chiefly, by our fleets. Sir George Rooke took Gibraltar, and Sir John Leake reduced Minorca; and it is also evident, that it was our fleet alone that supported King Charles in Catalonia, and kept the king of Portugal steady to the grand alliance; which, besides the advantages it brought to the common cause, secured to us the invaluable profits of our trade to that country; and all this against the spirit, genius, and inclination of the king of Portugal, and his ministers, who were all at that time in the French interest in their hearts; from which they had never departed so much as in shew, if the Most Christian king had been able to perform what we did; since it is well known, that the Portuguese first offered themselves to, and contracted an alliance with that monarch, and his grandson of Spain.

At the same time, our fleets prevented the French from so much as sailing on the Mediterranean, where they had made a figure in the last war, and kept many of the Italian States in awe. The very Algerines, and other piratical States of Barbary, contrary to their natural propensity to the French, were now obsequious to us, and entertained no manner of doubt of the superiority of our flag. To speak the truth, the slackness of the Dutch, in sending ships to this part of the world, had in this respect an effect happy enough for us, since it occasioned our being considered as the leading power, by all who had any concerns with us and them. Yet it must be admitted, that in the course of this war, the French performed some extraordinary exploits in the attacking our fleets and colonies, and those our allies, at which we need not wonder, since now this was all they had in their power; and though it disturbed us a good deal, and brought them some profit, yet it was more a mark of their weakness than of ours; for what greater, what more glorious argument of our naval force, than our sinking a great maritime power into a petty piratical state?

Let us but consider the figure that France made at the beginning of the last war, and at the end of this. She had then her fleets as well as we; nay, she had sometimes better fleets; instead of waiting till she was attacked, or giving us the trouble to go and seek her squadrons at a distance, she spread the sea with her navy, and insulted us upon our own coasts;

though we had Spain for us in all that war, yet it was thought extremely dangerous for us to winter in its ports; and every body knows, every body may see from this, and other histories, that, while we protected Spain by our fleets, we were often in danger, for want of them, of being invaded by France at home. But, in this war, the enemy seldom appeared at sea, and always quitted it at our approach. Our naval empire commenced from the battle of Malaga; the extinction of the French force at sea, was in a manner completed by our enterprise on Toulon. They were, from that time, incapable of any great expedition, and the only attempt of that kind they made, I mean the pitiful one on Scotland, very fully shewed it. They stole from our fleet through the advantage of winds and tides; the apprehension of being overtaken hindered them from landing, and their return was a plain flight.

In a word, to sum up all, we had to deal, in the first war, with the fleets of Brest and Toulon, capable of disputing with us the dominion of the sea in our full strength; in this, if we could guard against the Piccaroons of St. Maloe's and Dunkirk, all was well; our merchant-men suffered sometimes; but our fleets and squadrons were always safe; nay, even in the trivial war between single ships, we had the advantage, upon the whole, as appears by the Admiralty's computation; which shews, not only, that the French suffered more than we, but, what I believe few people have observed, that they suffered a third more in this war than they did in the last, notwithstanding the many sea-fights in that, and there being but a single one in this.*

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* The truth of what is asserted in this paragraph, will appear at first sight, by comparing the two following lists, which shew the loss sustained by England and France, in this war. It is also observable, that in the war ending in the year 1697, the English lost 50 ships mounting 1122 guns; but the loss of the French was 59

There happened no further naval armaments within the compass of this reign, except the sending a squadron into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir James Wishart; the design of it, without question, was to execute what remained to be executed of the peace; and as his Catholic Majesty was, at that time, intent on the reduction of Catalonia, the English fleet rendered him some services; which, however, made a great noise at home; for, as the Catalans had been originally brought into the war by the persuasion of the queen's minister, and upon repeated promises of her Majesty's constant support of them, it was thought not a little extraordinary, that the English fleet should afford any countenance,

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ships and 2244 guns, whence it is manifest that the French lost 850 guns, more in this war than in that.

A LIST OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH SHIPS LOST, OR TAKEN, IN QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

	ENGLISH.	
Guns.	Number.	Guns.
80	2	160
70	4	280
60	2	120
50	8	400
48	1	48
40	2	80
36	1	36
32	4	128
30	1	30
28	1	28
24	11	264
22	1	22
Total	38	1596

	FRENCH.	
Guns.	Number.	Guns.
100	4	400
90	8	720
86	8	688
74	1	74
70	3	210
64	1	64
56	1	56
54	4	216
50	2	100
48	1	48
40	1	40
36	2	72
34	1	34
32	1	32
30	2	60
28	1	28
24	8	192
20	3	60
Total	52	3094
	38	1596

The loss of the French exceeds ours 18 1498 much less assistance, to the enemies of that brave people, who still considered themselves as the allies of Great Britain.

It is true, that many plausible things were offered in excuse of this conduct. It is said, that her Majesty had done all that lay in her power, to procure for those people the continuance of their ancient privileges; and that though she had not absolutely succeeded in this, yet she had procured them an equivalent for their ancient privileges; which was sharing those of Castile, and particularly that of being capable of having a concern in the trade to the West Indies, from which all other subjects of the crown of Spain are excluded. To this it was added, that it was in a great measure owing to the faults of the Catalans themselves, that her Majesty's interposition did not succeed to the full; since, while she was applying in their favour to King Philip, they actually declared war against him; which put it out of her Majesty's power to solicit for them any longer. It was likewise alleged, that the emperor might have stipulated conditions for them, under the guaranty of her Majesty, in his provisional treaty for the evacuation of that province; so that, upon the whole, it ought to be understood, that whatever mercy these people received, flowed from the care taken of them by the queen; whereas, the many and great miseries they suffered, were absolutely the effects of their own perverseness and obstinacy.

But, that I may not appear an apologist, rather than an historian, I must speak my sentiments sincerely of this matter. The obligation that Great Britain was under, to protect these people, was very clear, and withal so strong, and so binding on the government, that it is impossible to conceive, how any ministers, and especially those who countersigned the very instructions for giving such assurances to the Catalans, could believe it right, or could even imagine it excusable, not to secure them their privileges by the peace. As to their having this in their power, it appears to me a thing past all doubt; for, when they first thought of the peace, they knew the engagements they were under to these people, and they ought to have taken care, that what had been promised them upon the public faith should have been performed. Besides, it appears plainly by the treaty of peace with Spain, that our ministry had power enough to obtain the whole kingdom of Sicily for the duke of Savoy; and one cannot easily conceive, that people, who were able to do so much to oblige one ally, should not be able to obtain justice for another.

The truth seems to have been, that the Spanish court were very desirous of carrying this point, and found a way to gain our minister, who was sent thither before the formal conclusion of the treaty, to relax a little in this particular; which, perhaps, he did not consider in the light that I do; and afterwards, it was impossible to recover what had been departed from. I am very far, however, from thinking, that all the ministers then about the queen were culpable in this matter. I have reason to doubt, whether the lord-treasurer Oxford came into that measure; and I have authority to say, that the late duke of Buckinghamshire was so far from concurring in it, that he brought this matter twice upon the carpet in council, and exerted all his interest to have prevented the Catalans from being given up as they were. I am likewise assured, that whatever Sir James Wishart did, was from what he conceived the meaning of his instructions, and not from any express directions contained in them. This, so far as I have been able to learn, is the truth, and the whole truth, without disguise or extenuation; and, if there was any minister, whose interest with the queen contributed in any degree to these poor people's misfortune, I freely own, that I think he departed in this respect from the duty he owed to his mistress and to his country.

I am now to proceed from the general history of the naval operations in this reign, to the particular memoirs of such eminent seamen as flourished in it; and as I have taken particular pains to be well informed as to their conduct and behaviour, so I shall deliver what has come to my hands, with the utmost impartiality; at the same time, I must express my deep regret, that many circumstances relating to the worthy men of whom I am now to speak, are attended with more obscurity than I could wish, notwithstanding the obligation that public and private historians were under, to have preserved, as far as lay in their power, whatever might have contributed to the honour of those brave officers, who so gallantly exposed themselves for the advantage of their country, and to whose courage and conduct we stand indebted for the many advantages this nation still enjoys, as well as for the force and reputation of our maritime power, which has extended itself to the most distant parts of the world, and, under this reign particularly, drew the highest respect to the English flag wherever it appeared; as it secured to us such a mighty accession of trade, that the shipping of this kingdom was increased nearly a third, in the short interval between the conclusion of the peace and the death of the queen.

MEMOIRS OF

VICE-ADMIRAL BENBOW.

As fame ought constantly to attend on virtue, so, without doubt, it ought to follow, in a particular manner, that kind of virtue which is of greatest use to society; I mean sincere, active, and well-conducted public spirit. This it was, that distinguished the gentleman of whom I am now to speak, and that in an age when public spirit was not only out of fashion, but out of countenance; when a man who professed to love his country, if known to have sense, was thought to be a hypocrite; and, if not known to have it, a fool. Mr. Benbow was neither; he had a probity that was never questioned, and a knowledge of men and things, which always procured him credit in whatever station he appeared.

But there was this peculiar in his character, that never any addition of fortune or honour accrued to himself, but some good resulted from it to his country; for that reason I have, with great care, collected every circumstance, relating to his progress through life, from private hands; which I flatter myself will be so much the more agreeable to the public, from the want of pains in other writers to vindicate the memory of this great man; which they have rather injured, by heaping together idle and ill-founded stories, and representing, as the rough behaviour of a tar, that steady courage, and that strict regard for discipline, which were not the foibles, as some people would insinuate, but the truly laudable qualities of this honest, gallant, and accomplished admiral.

It would have been, I think, no reflection upon the merit of this worthy man, if he had really sprung, as some authors suggest he did, from a very mean original; but the fact is absolutely otherwise. He was descended from the antient and honourable family of the Benbows in the county of Salop; which, though now sunk in point of riches and credit, is still remembered with honour, as it deserves to be, since the misfortunes of the family were not the effects of their follies and vices, but owing to their firmness and fortitude, their attachment to honour, in preference to interest, and their unshaken adherence to the good old English principles of loyalty and patriotism.*

When the civil war broke out, King Charles I. relying strongly on the affection of the inhabitants of this county, repaired in person to Shrewsbury, entered that city on the 20th of September, 1642, and the same day made a solemn and public declaration, that he did not carry on this war from a thirst of blood, of conquest, or of absolute power, but from a desire of preserving his own just rights, and those of his people, since he was determined, if God gave him success therein, to be as tender of the privileges of parliament, as of his own prerogative. Upon this declaration, the Lords Newport and Littleton, with the greatest part of the gentry in that county, came in, and offered his Majesty their service; among these, were Thomas Benbow, and John Benbow, Esqrs. both men of estates, and both colonels in the king's service, of whose fortunes I am obliged to say somewhat, since the latter was the father of our admiral, and there are many things worthy of being recorded that befel them both.†

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* Camden's Remains, p iii. Verstegan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, chap. ix. Charter's Analysis of Honour, p.73. We may, from the accounts given by these learned authors, collect from both surname and arms, that Benbow is a Saxon family, as Bowes, called in Latin, *de arcubus*, certainly appears to be, and as Strongbow and Bowman are esteemed.

† The earl of Clarendon gives a large account of this affair, in his history, and takes particular notice of the king's coining his plate there, which inclined many noblemen and gentlemen to bring in theirs, as also considerable sums of money.

When his Majesty's affairs were thrown into absolute confusion, and he had been traiterously murdered, such gentlemen as had served in his army, retired into the country, and lived as privately as they could. But, though their interests were much reduced, and their fortunes in a great measure ruined, yet their spirit remained unbroken, and they acted as chearfully for the service of King Charles II. as if they had never suffered at all by serving his father; so much a better principle is loyalty than corruption. When therefore that prince marched from Scotland, towards Worcester, the two Benbows, among other gentlemen of the county of Salop, went to attend him; and after fighting bravely in the support of their sovereign, were both taken prisoners by the rebels.

That unfortunate battle was fought September 3, 1651, and soon after a court-martial was appointed to sit at Chester, wherein Colonel Macworth had the chair as president, and Major-general Mitton, and other staunch friends to the cause, assisted; by whom ten gentlemen, of the first families in England, were illegally and barbarously sentenced to death, for barely corresponding with his Majesty, and five of them were executed. They then proceeded to try Sir Timothy Fetherstonehaugh, colonel Thomas Benbow, and the earl of Derby, for being in his service. They were all condemned, and, in order to strike the greater terror in different parts of the county, the earl of Derby was adjudged to suffer death on the 15th of October, at Bolton; Sir Timothy to be beheaded on the 17th, at Chester; and Colonel Thomas Benbow to be shot on the 19th, at Shrewsbury, all these sentences were severally put in execution; which, I think, sufficiently shews, that the Benbows were then, or had been about that period, a very considerable family in Shropshire; for otherwise the colonel would hardly have been sent out of the world in so good company.

As for Colonel John Benbow, he made his escape, after a short imprisonment, and lived privately in his own country, till the Restoration, when he was far in years, and yet so much to seek for a livelihood, that he was glad to accept of a small office belonging to the ordnance in the Tower, which just brought him an income sufficient to save himself and his family from the danger of starving. In this situation he was, when a little before the breaking out of the first Dutch war, the king came to the Tower to examine the magazines. There his Majesty cast his eye on the good old colonel, who had now been distinguished by a fine head of grey hairs for twenty years. The king, whose memory was as quick as his eye, knew him at first sight, and immediately came up and embraced him. "My old friend, Colonel Benbow," said he, what do you here?" I have, returned the colonel, a place of fourscore pounds a-year, in which I serve your Majesty as cheerfully, as if it brought me in four thousand. "Alas!" said the king, "is that all that could be found for an old friend at Worcester? Colonel Legge, bring this gentleman to me to-morrow, and I will provide for him and his family as it becomes me." But, short as the time was, the colonel did not live to receive, or so much as to claim, the effects of this gracious promise; for the sense of the king's gratitude and goodness so overcame his spirits, that, sitting down on a bench, he there breathed his last, before the king was well out of the Tower. And thus, both brothers fell martyrs to the royal cause, one in grief, and the other in joy.

When we consider the many misfortunes and distressed circumstances of the father, it is impossible not to be surprised at the poverty, or not feel compassion for the condition of his family, of the state of which, at the time of his decease, I am not able to give any distinct account; all that I have been able to learn, is, that this son John, who was then about fifteen, was bred to the sea; but that it was in so low a station as a waterman's boy, which though some writers positively affirm, I can hardly believe; because, even in King Charles II.'s reign, he was owner and commander of a ship called the Benbow Frigate, and made then as respectable a figure as any man concerned in the trade to the Mediterranean. He was always considered by the merchants as a bold, brave, and active commander, one who took care of his seamen, and was therefore chearfully obeyed by them, though he maintained strict discipline, with greater safety there, than afterwards in the royal navy. This behaviour raised his reputation greatly, so that no man was better known, or more esteemed by the merchants upon the Exchange, than Captain Benbow. It does not, however, appear, that he ever sought any preferment in that whole reign; neither is it likely he would have met with it in the next, but from a remarkable accident, of which I shall give the reader the best account I can, because it gave rise to all his future fortunes, and is moreover as extraordinary a story in itself, as was perhaps ever related.

In the year 1686, Captain Benbow, in his own vessel the Benbow Frigate, was attacked in his passage to Cadiz by a Salee rover, against whom he defended himself, though very unequal in the number of men, with the utmost bravery, till at last the Moors boarded him; but were quickly beat out of his ship again, with the loss of thirteen men, whose heads Captain Benbow ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pork pickle. When he arrived at Cadiz, he went ashore, and ordered a negro servan to follow him, with the Moors heads in a sack. He had scarcely landed, before the officers of the revenue inquired of his servant what he had in his sack? The captain answered, salt provisions for his own use. That may be, answered the officers; but we must insist upon seing them. Captain Benbow alleged, that he was no stranger there; that he did not use to run goods, pretended to take it very ill that he was suspected. The officers told him, that the magistrates were sitting not far off, and that if they were satisfied with his word, his servant might carry the provision where he pleased; but that otherwise it was not in their power to grant any such dispensation.

The captain consented to the proposal; and away they marched to the custom-house, Mr. Benbow in the front, his man in the centre, and the officers in the rear. The magistrates, when he came before them, treated Captain Benbow with great civility; told him, they were sorry to make a point of such a trifle, but that, since he had refused to shew the contents of his sack to their officers, the nature of their employments obliged them to demand a sight of them; and that, as they doubted not they were salt provisions, the shewing them could be of no great consequence one way or other. "I told you," says the captain sternly, "they were salt provisions for my own use. Cæsar, throw them down upon the table; and, gentlemen, if you like them, they are at your service." The Spaniards were exceedingly struck at the sight of the Moors' heads, and no less astonished at the account of the captain's adventure, who with so small a force, had been able to defeat such a number of barbarians. They sent an account of the whole matter to the court of Madrid, and Charles II. then king of Spain, was so much pleased with it, that he would needs see the English captain, who made a journey to court, where he was received with great testimonies of respect, and not only dismissed with a handsome present, but his Catholic Majesty was also pleased to write a letter in his behalf to King James, who, upon the captain's return, gave him a ship, which was his introduction to the royal navy.

After the Revolution, he distinguished himself by several successful cruises in the Channel, where he was employed at the request of the merchants, and not only did his duty by protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy, but was also remarkably careful in examining the French ports, gaining intelligence, and forming schemes for disturbing the French commerce, and securing our own. For this reason he was commonly made choice of to command the squadrons employed in bombarding the French ports, of which we have already given a large account; and therefore it is altogether unnecessary to repeat those things here. I shall content myself, for this reason, with remarking, that he shewed no less courage than conduct upon such occasions, being always present in his boat, as well to encourage as to instruct the seamen and engineers, according to his manner of ever enforcing his commands by his example.

The diligence and activity of Captain Benbow could not fail of recommending him to the favour of so wise and brave a prince as King William; to whose personal kindness, founded on a just sense of Mr. Benbow's merit, he owed his being so early promoted to a flag; after which he was generally employed as the most experienced seaman in the navy, to watch the motions of the French at Dunkirk, and to prevent, as far as it was possible, the depredations of Du Bart; in which he shewed such diligence, and did such signal service, by preserving our merchant ships, that he escaped the slightest censure, when libels flew about against almost every other officer of rank in the whole fleet. The truth really was, that the seamen generally considered Rear-admiral Benbow as their greatest patron; one, who not only used them well while under his care, but was always ready to interpose in their favour, as far as his interest went, when they were ill-treated by others.

There was, at that time, a warm dispute as to the expediency of preferring mere seamen, or, as they were then called, tarpaulins, to gentlemen in the navy; Admiral Benbow was consulted more than once by the king upon that subject, and always gave it as his opinion, that it was best to employ both; that a seaman should never lose preferment for want of recommendation, or a gentleman obtain it, barely from that motive. He was also a great enemy to party-distinctions, and thought a man's merit ought to be judged of from his actions at sea, rather than from the company he kept on shore; and for this reason he lived upon good terms with the admirals of different parties, who were all of them ready to testify, upon any occasion, his courage and conduct.

In the year 1697, he was sent, with a small squadron before Dunkirk; where he saved the Virginia and West India fleet from falling into the hands of the French privateers, for which he received the thanks of the merchants. He would, likewise, have succeeded in restraining Du Bart from going out, if the Dutch Rear-admiral Vandergoes had been in a condition to assist him, or if the lords of the Admiralty had been inclined to have taken his advice; for observing, in the beginning of August, that the French frigates were hauled into the bason, to clean, he judged their design to be what it really proved, to put to sea by the next spring tide; and, therefore, as his ships were all foul, he wrote up to the board, to desire that four of the best sailers might be ordered to Sheerness to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but also to heel and scrub; which he judged might have been done, before the spring-tide gave the French an opportunity of getting over the bar; but this was not then thought advisable, though he afterwards received orders for it, when the thing was too late. By this unlucky accident, the French had an opportunity given them of getting out with five clean ships; yet this, however, did not hinder the admiral from pursuing them as well as he was able; and some ships of his squadron had the good luck to take a Dunkirk privateer of ten guns, and forty men, which had done a great deal of mischief. This was one of the last actions of the war, and the rear-admiral soon after received orders to return home with the squadron under his command

It is very well known, that after the peace of Ryswick, and even while the partition treaties were negociating, King William had formed a design of doing something very considerable in the West Indies. This project had long occupied the king's thoughts, into which, it is said, it was first put by Father Henepin, who was extremely well acquainted with that part of the world. The king had turned it several times in his mind; and, at last, took a settled resolution, that, if the French attempted to deceive him, as he had great reason to believe they would, something of consequence should be done in that part of the world.

In the mean time, however, he thought fit to send a small squadron, of three fourth rates, into the West Indies, under the command of Rear-admiral Benbow, who had private instructions from the king, to make the best observations he could on the Spanish ports and settlements, but to keep as fair as possible with the governors, and to afford them any assistance, if they desired it. He was likewise instructed to watch the galleons; for the king of Spain, Charles II. was then thought to be in a dying condition. Rear-admiral Benbow sailed in the month of November, 1698, and did not arrive in the West Indies till the February following, where he found things in a very indifferent situation. Most of our colonies were in a bad condition, many of them engaged in warm disputes with their governors; the forces that should have been kept up in them for their defence, so reduced by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, that little or nothing was to be expected from them. The admiral carried with him Colonel Collingwood's regiment, which he disposed of to the best advantage in the Leeward Islands.

He then addressed himself to execute his commission, and sailed for that purpose to Carthagena, where he met with a very indifferent reception from the governor, which he returned, by talking to him in a style so very plain, that forced him, though he had been wanting in civility, to make it up, in some measure, by doing justice; and in the same manner he proceeded with the governor of Porto Bello, as I have shewn elsewhere; but still the great ends of his commission remained altogether unanswered, not through any fault of the admiral's, but for want of a sufficient force, either to engage the Spaniards to confide in him, or to perform any thing considerable, in case the French had sent a strong fleet into that part of the world, as it was then expected they would have done. This affair was complained of in parliament, where the smallness of the squadron, and the sending it so late, were very severely reflected upon; though, at the same time, great compliments were paid to Admiral Benbow's courage, capacity, and integrity, by both parties; and when he returned home two years after, he brought with him authentic testimonies of his having done the merchants and planters all the services they could either expect or desire; so that he was received with the most cordial friendship by his Majesty,* who, as a mark of his royal favour, was graciously pleased to grant him an augmentation of arms, by adding to the three bent bows, which he and his family already bore, as many arrows.

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* It is certain, that the French had great advantages from the nature of their government, which enabled them to take much quicker measures for effecting their purposes, than we could do to oppose them; but as this was, in a great degree, owing to oversights and mismanagements in the former war, so it shews the necessity there is of strict and prudent enquiries, in order to obtain the confidence of this nation; which, whenever it is acquired, will be always found an over-balance even for the French power; whereas, if the people of England entertain any doubts of the manner in which their money is to be employed, it will often be found difficult, some time or other, perhaps impracticable, to make them part with it.

The whole system of affairs in Europe was changed by that time Admiral Benbow came back; the king had discovered the disingenuity of the French, and saw himself under an absolute necessity of entering upon a new war, while he was sensible the nation was, as yet, very little recovered from the expences of the last. One of his first cares was, to put the fleet into as good condition as it was possible, and to give the command of it to officers that might in all respects be depended upon; and to this disposition of the king's, Mr. Benbow owed his being declared vice-admiral of the blue. He was at that time cruising off Dunkirk, in order to prevent, what was then much dreaded here, an invasion. There was, as yet, no war declared between the two crowns; but this was held to be no security against France; and it was no sooner known, that they were fitting out a strong squadron at Dunkirk, than it was firmly believed to be intended to cover a descent. Vice-admiral Benbow satisfied the ministry, that there was no danger on this side; and then it was resolved to prosecute, without delay, the projects formerly concerted, in order to disappoint the French in their views upon the Spanish succession; to facilitate which, it was thought absolutely necessary to send, without delay, a strong squadron to the West Indies.

This squadron was to consist of two third rates, and eight fourths; which was as great a strength as it was judged could be at that time spared; and it was thought indispensably requisite that it should be under the orders of an officer, whose courage and conduct might be safely relied on, and whose experience might give the world a good opinion of the choice made of him for this important command; upon the right management of which, it was believed, the success of the war would, in a great measure, depend. Mr. Benbow was thought of by the ministry, as soon as the expedition was determined ; but the king would not hear of it He said, that Benbow was in a manner just come home from thence, where he had met with nothing but difficulties; and that, therefore, it was but fair some other officer should take his turn.* One or two were named and consulted: but either their health, or their affairs were in such disorder, that they most earnestly desired to be excused; upon which the king said merrily to some of his ministers, alluding to the dress and appearance of these gentlemen, "Well then, I find we must spare our *beaus*, and send honest Ben*bow*."

His Majesty, accordingly, sent for him upon this occasion, and asked him, whether he was willing to go to the West Indies, assuring him, if he was not, he would not take it amiss if he desired to be excused. Mr. Benbow answered bluntly, "That he did not understand such compliments; that he thought he had no right to chuse his station; and that, if his Majesty thought fit to send him to the East or West Indies, or any where else, he would cheerfully execute his orders as became him." Thus the matter was settled in very few words, and the command of the West India squadron conferred, without any mixture of envy, on our Vice-admiral Benbow.

To conceal the design of this squadron, but above all to prevent the French from having any just notions of its force, Sir George Rooke, then admiral of the fleet, had orders to convoy it as far as Scilly, and to send a strong squadron with it thence, to see it well into the sea ; all which he punctually performed ; so that Admiral Benbow departed in the month of September, 1701 ; the world in general believing, that he was gone with Sir John Munden, who commanded the squadron that accompanied him into the Mediterranean; and to render this still more credible, our minister at Madrid was ordered to demand the free use of the Spanish ports; which was accordingly performed. As soon as it was known in England, that Vice-admiral Benbow was sailed, with ten ships only, for the West Indies, and it was discovered, that the great armament at Brest, with which we were long amused, was intended for the same part of the world, a mighty clamour was raised here at home, as if he had been sent to be sacrificed, and heavy reflections were made upon the inactivity of our grand fleet; whereas, in truth, the whole affair had been conducted with all imaginable prudence, and the vice-admiral had as considerable a squadron, as, all things maturely weighed, it was, in that critical juncture, thought possible to be spared.*

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* This was the American branch of the grand scheme before hinted at, and was to seize the galleons ; at the same time, the fleet, which was to sail into the Mediterranean, took Cadiz, and gave us a secure entrance into Andalusia ; than which, a more simple, more noble, or more practicable design, the human mind could not conceive.

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* The sending Vice-admiral Benbow at that critical season, was a very judicious measure, the faults were committed afterwards. Sir John Munden was punished for the consequence, rather than the nature, of his error. A strong squadron should have been then sent to the support of Benbow, which had saved him and served the nation.

That I may not seem to speak altogether without book, I shall cite a passage from a pamphlet published in 1702, intitled, 'The present Condition of the English Navy.' "A new war I believe to be unavoidable; and we are much beholden to the last parliament that we are not entered into it already, and so become the Fight-alls, the Pay-alls, and the Lose-alls, of Europe, as we have hitherto been. But, if we have a war managed as the last was, we had better spend a little money in booms and chains, to secure our ships in harbour, than to send them abroad to spend our money, lose our reputation, and not secure our trade. I cannot persuade myself, that the parliament of England will evermore send the native strength of their country abroad in other people's quarrels, and be at the charge of levies, clothing, arms, and transportations, to put their own liberties in danger at home, by a standing army, when they have done the business of our allies abroad. The men we lost, and the money we spent in the last war, as also, how hard it was to get them disbanded, in opposition to the interest of men, that wanted to support their titles to their illegal grants, and ill-gotten gains, is too fresh in our memories, It is certain, that King William formed great hopes of this expedition, knowing well that Vice-admiral Benbow would execute with the greatest spirit and punctuality, the instructions he had received; which were, to engage the Spanish governors, if possible, to disown King Philip; or, in case that could not be brought about, to make himself master of the galleons. In this design, it is very plain, that the admiral would have succeeded, notwithstanding the smallness of his force, if his officers had done their duty; and it is no less certain, that the anxiety the vice-admiral was under, about the execution of his orders, was the principal reason for his maintaining so strict discipline, which proved unluckily the occasion of his coming to an untimely end. Yet there is no reason to censure either the king's project, or the admiral's conduct; both were right in themselves, though neither was attended with the success it deserved.

The French knew too well the importance of the Spanish West Indies, not to think of providing for their security, as soon as ever they resolved to accept the will of his Catholic Majesty, the late King Charles II. which, it may be, was some time before his death, though, to save appearances, solemnly debated after the contents of the will were communi-

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ever to bring ourselves under the like hardships. I foresee that the war will be now at sea, and we have but a very ill omen of success, from the last summer's expedition of our fleet. Our modern Whigs, in their legion letters, and Kentish petitions, exclaimed against the parliament, because they raised no more money; but I hope these folk, if they have any brains, or honesty, are now sensible of their groundless complaint, when they find how little has been done for what was then raised. They gave 1,500,000 pounds for the fleet, for this expedition; and what has been the effect? the whole fleet went to convoy Benbow in his way to the West Indies, and, while they were gone, our modern Whigs boasted of their conduct, and built castles in the air, to hold the money they should bring home in the Spanish galleons; but, in a short time, we found them all at Spithead, except a few ships that proceeded with Benbow to the West Indies, where, if they be not Talmashed, they have good fortune."

cated by the privy council of Spain. The officer whom his Most Christian Majesty made choice of to command the squadron which was first to be sent thither, was the famous M. Du Casse, governor of St. Domingo. He was to carry with him one hundred officers of all ranks, who were intended to discipline the Spanish militia in the kingdom of Mexico; but, before this could be done, it was thought necessary to send M. Du Casse to Madrid, to ask the consent of the Spanish council, which took up some time; for though the Spaniards could not but be sensible in how wretched a situation their affairs in the West Indies were, yet it was with great reluctancy, that they gave way to this expedient, though a little reflection (of which no nation is more capable), would have shewn them, that, in reality, they had no choice to make; but, when they had once come to a resolution, that M. Du Casse should be sent, they were continually soliciting the French court to dispatch him immediately.

The French councils, which were better conducted, had, as we already suggested, foreseen all these difficulties; and, therefore, had a squadron ready at Brest, consisting of five ships of the line, and several large vessels laden with arms and ammunition, which, under the command of the Marquis De Coetlogon, in the month of April 1701, sailed for the Spanish West Indies; and, on the 20th of October, the Count De Chateau Renaud sailed also with fourteen ships of the line, and sixteen frigates, to meet the galleons, that were supposed to be already departed from the Havannah, under the escort of the Marquis De Coetlogon; and, after all this, M. Du Casse likewise sailed with his squadron; from whence the English reader will easily see, that as Admiral Benbow received no supplies, he was truly in danger of being crushed by the superior power of our enemies, and that extraordinary diligence which was used to strengthen and support them.

When Vice-Admiral Benbow arrived first at Jamaica, which was at the close of the year 1701, he made such just and wise dispositions for securing our own trade, and annoying that of the enemy, that the French saw, with great amazement, all their schemes defeated, which they had been enabled to form by their having much earlier intelligence than we of the intended war; and their own writers fairly admit, that even after the arrival of the Marquis De Coetlogon, they were constrained to act only on the defensive; and found all the grand projects they had meditated, for attacking Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, entirely frustrated.

The Dutch accounts, at the same time, from Curoçoa, said plainly, that, notwithstanding all the blustering of the French, Vice-admiral Benbow, with a small English squadron, remained master of those seas; nor did he fail to make use of this advantage, by taking many prizes, and by giving all imaginable countenance to the private trade carried on by the English on the Spanish coasts: but, in a few weeks time, the scene began to change; for the vice-admiral had first the news of M. Chateau Renaud's arrival at Martinico with a squadron much stronger than his own; and, soon after, information that this squadron had been joined by the Marquis De Coetlogon from the Havannah, which alarmed the inhabitants of Barbadoes and Jamaica excessively, because we had no force capable of resisting this French fleet, in case their commanders were determined to act offensively.

In this uncertain situation, things continued to the end of April 1702, when the vice-admiral resolved, notwithstanding there was a great want of men on board the squadron, to put to sea, in order to cruize between Jamaica and Hispaniola; and accordingly he sailed on the 8th of May; but, before he was quite clear of the island of Jamaica, he met with Rear-admiral Whetstone, with whom he returned, to communicate to the government some orders received from England; having first sent the Falmouth, Ruby, and Experiment, to cruize off Petit Guavas. He had advice about the middle of May, that, on the 18th of the preceding month, there passed by Camanagoto, on Terra Firma, seventeen tall ships, which steered towards the west end of Cuba. These ships he judged to be part of M. Chateau Renaud's squadron, and that they were bound to the Havannah, to offer their service for convoying home the flota; but he had not strength to follow them, without subjecting the island to the insults of those ships which were at Leogane. Some little time after, the master of a Spanish sloop from Cuba, acquainted him that M. Chateau Renaud was actually arrived at the Havannah, with twenty-six ships of war, waiting for the flota from La Vera Cruz; and this was confirmed by the ships he had sent out, which, during their cruize in those parts, had taken four prizes; one of them a ship mounted with no more than twenty-four, but capable of carrying forty guns.

The vice-admiral being likewise informed, by a sloop from Petit Guavas, that four ships, with provisions, were bound from thence to the Havannah, he sent three frigates to intercept them, between Cape St. Nicholas and Cape Mayze, the very track leading thither; but they had not the expected success. The same day he detached Rear-admiral Whetstone with two third-rates, three fourths, and a fire-ship, to intercept M. Du Casse, who, he had heard, was expected at Port Louis, at the west end of Hispaniola, a little within the isle of Ash, with four ships of war, to settle the Assiento at Carthagena, and to destroy the trade of the English and Dutch for negroes, resolving to sail himself, in five or six days, with the remainder of the squadron, in search of these French ships, in case the rear-admiral should miss them.

I have already given so full and particular an account of what happened on the admiral's sailing to intercept Du Casse, that I shall confine myself here to such circumstances as are personal only. The scheme formed by Admiral Benbow for the destruction of the French force in the West Indies, and having a chance for the galleons, shews him to have been a very able and judicious commander, and effectually disproves that idle and ridiculous calumny of his being a mere seaman. He saw that the French officers were excessively embarrassed by the wayward conduct of the Spaniards, who would not take a single step out of their own road, though for their own service. He resolved to take advantage of this, and to attack the smallest of their squadrons, having before sent home such an account of the number and value of the Spanish ships, and of the strength of the French squadrons that were to escort them, as might enable the ministry to take all proper measures for intercepting them, either in their passage from the West Indies, or when it should be known that they were arrived in the European seas. When he had done this, he sailed from Jamaica on the 11th of July, with two third-rates, six fourths, a fire-ship, bomb, tender, and sloop, in hopes of meeting Rear-admiral Whetstone; but missing him, he failed not, however, first to give the utmost disturbance to the French settlements in St. Domingo, and then sailed in search of Du Casse's squadron, which he came up with and engaged, on Wednesday the 19th of August, and fought him bravely for five days; which not only demonstrates the courage and conduct of this gallant seaman, but the fidelity and attachment of his own ship's company; since it is impossible he could, in such circumstances, have maintained the engagement so long, if his inferior officers, and all the common seamen, had not been very unanimous. The French accounts, indeed, represent the whole affair to their own advantage; but M. Du Casse, who was a brave man, and by much the best judge of this matter, has put the thing out of dispute, by the following short letter, written by him immediately after his arrival at Carthagena; the original of which is still, or at least was, in the hands of Admiral Benbow's family:

"Sir,

"I had little hopes, on Monday last, but to have supped in your cabin: but it pleased God to order it otherwise; I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by ——, they deserve it. Your's

Du Casse."

The first care the admiral had, after his return to Jamaica was, to provide for the officers who distinguished themselves in the late engagement; and next, to bring those to justice, who had so basely betrayed their trust; and in this he was so earnest, that perhaps he failed a little in point of form, since, in order to their trial, he granted a commission, which it has been questioned, whether he might legally do; but he certainly acted from two very excusable reasons; the first was, that he found himself in no condition to preside in a court-martial, having been ill of a fever, which ensued upon cutting off his leg from the time of his coming a-shore: the other, that in case he had been able to assist upon that occasion, he was desirous of declining it, from his having so great a personal interest in the affair. After the court-martial was over, the admiral lived nearly a month; for that court sat on the 6th of October, and the admiral died on the 4th of November following.

He was, all that time, extremely sensible of his danger, and never entertained any flattering hopes of recovery. Yet, during that long illness, he supported his character as an English admiral, with the same firmness he had shewn during the engagement, giving all the necessary orders for protecting the trade, that could have been expected from him, if he had been in perfect health; and in the letters he wrote home to his lady, he discovered much greater anxiety for the interest of the nation, than for his private fortune, or the concerns of his family. The queen had so just a regard for the memory of this gallant man, that she spoke of his loss with great regret; and, as I have already shewn, would not suffer herself to be teazed into an ill-timed act of mercy, though, like all her family, most tender in her own nature, towards those, who, through their cowardice, were sprinkled with his blood. His sister had, in his lifetime, presented the admiral's picture to the corporation of Shrewsbury, who caused it to be hung up in their town hall; where it still remains, as a testimony of the regard which his countrymen had for this worthy officer and true patriot.

The vice-admiral left behind him a numerous posterity of both sexes: but his sons dying, all of them without issue, his two surviving daughters became co-heiresses; and of these, the eldest married Paul Calton, Esq. of Milton, near Abington, in the county of Berks. John Benbow, one of his sons, claims some notice in a work of this nature, independently of his relationship to his gallant father. He was bred to the sea, and went to the East Indies in quality of fourth mate, on board the Degrave, Captain William Young, commander, which ship passed through the Downs, on February 19, 1701, when Admiral Benbow lay there with his squadron, ready to proceed to the West Indies. The Degrave was a fine ship, of 700 tons, and carried fifty-two guns; she was bound for Fort St. George, in the East Indies, where she safely arrived, and proceeded from thence to Bengal, where her captain and first mate died; by which means the command devolved on the captain's son, who was second mate, and Mr. John Benbow became second mate. From Bengal, they sailed for the Cape of Good Hope; but, in going out of the river, the ship ran a-ground and stuck fast; she floated again the next high tide, and put to sea with little or no damage, as they then imagined; but they very soon after found her so leaky, that they were forced to keep two chain pumps continually going: in this condition they sailed two months, before they reached the island of St. Maurice, at that time inhabited by the Dutch, who received them kindly, gave them all the assistance in their power, permitting them to set up a tent on shore, into which they brought most part of their cargo, having unladen their ship, in order to search for the leak; which, however, they could not find. After about a month's stay at the island before-mentioned, and taking on board about fifty Lascars, or moorish seamen, they sailed directly for the Cape of Good Hope; they had then about one hundred and seventy hands on board, and, though the Lascars could not do much in point of navigation, they were, however, of great use, as they eased the English seamen from the labour of pumping. Yet, after all, it was fatal for them that this rash resolution was taken, of putting to sea before they stopped, or even discovered the leak; for, in a few days time, it gained so much upon them, that, notwithstanding they pumped day and night, it was as much as they could do, to keep the vessel above water, though they were still above six hundred leagues from their intended port. The ship's company, believing that common danger put them all on an equality, represented to Captain Young, that his design of proceeding to the Cape was become impracticable; and that, therefore, the wisest thing he could do, was to make the nearest land, which was that of Madagascar; to the southward of which, they had sailed about an hundred leagues. The captain complied with their advice, and endeavoured to run the ship on shore; but that was found impracticable likewise: so that, when they were within a quarter of a mile of the coast, they let go an anchor first, and then cut down all her masts and rigging, and threw their guns and goods overboard, in hopes of making the ship swim nearer; but this being found also impossible, and having already lost their long boat and pinnace, they resolved to make a raft, which they did in the night; and the next morning, Mr. Pratt, their chief mate, with four men, went in a little boat on shore with a rope, by which they proposed to warp the raft.

This boat was staved to pieces, before it reached the land; but the men escaped, and secured the rope, which brought the raft on shore, with the rest of the ship's company, except the captain, who remained last on board the ship, and did not leave her, till he found she began to break to pieces, and then he threw himself into the sea, and swam a-shore. They were quickly made prisoners by the king of that part of the island, who carried them fifty miles up into the country, where they found Captain Drummond, and Captain Stewart, with a few of their ship's crew, in the same situation with themselves; and who soon let them into a perfect knowledge of their condition, by assuring them that the king intended to make them serve in his wars, and would never permit them to return to Europe; which struck them, as may be imagined, with the utmost consternation.*

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* This Captain Drummond is the same I have before mentioned, as commander of the Rising Sun, a ship belonging to the Scots East India company; he came to trade at Madagascar, and while his ship lay at anchor, she was surprised by a pirate, who suffered the captain, with his friend Captain Stewart, and a few hands, to go a-shore in the long-boat, in the territories of the same prince who made Mr. Benbow prisoner. It was for the supposed murder of this Captain Drummond, that one Captain Green, a very honest English gentleman, his mate, Mr. Mather, and several other persons, were executed in Scotland, on the testimony of a black, and more would have been executed, but for the care of the late worthy duke of Argyle, who interposed out of pure generosity, and procured their pardons. I remember, while a boy, to have seen this

In this distress, the Captains Drummond, Stewart, and Young, held a consultation, in conjunction with Mr. Pratt, and Mr. Benbow, in which Captain Drummond proposed it, as the only expedient by which they could possibly recover their liberty, to seize the black king, and march off with him prisoner into some other province of the island, where the ships more frequently came. Mr. Benbow warmly espoused this proposal, and assisted with great courage in the execution of it, which was performed with more ease than was expected; and the king, his son, and his queen, were made prisoners; but the queen was released by Captain Young, out of mere pity. It is not very easy to conceive a bolder enterprise than this, when between fifty and sixty white people, and not above half of these armed, carried off a black prince, out of the midst of his capital, and in the sight of some hundreds, nay, some thousands, of his subjects, better armed than themselves; who were, notwithstanding, restrained from firing upon them, by Captain Young's threatening immediately to kill their king if they did.

Afterwards, however, they mismanaged the thing strangely; for, upon a proposal made by the negroes to give them six guns for their king; it was agreed to give him up, upon a supposition that the blacks would then follow them no farther; and this, notwithstanding Mr. Benbow warmly opposed it, and shewed them the mischievous consequences with which so wild a measure must be attended. The king being given up, the blacks still continued to

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Captain Green's original Journal, in the custody of a merchant in Edinburgh, who did him all the service in his power, at the hazard of his own life; from which Journal it appeared, that they only met with Captain Drummond at sea, as they were homeward bound, on board whose ship Captain Green dined, and received from him a present of a bible, which was made use of to corroborate the black's evidence; who, from a wicked spirit of revenge, perjured himself, that he might murder his master.

follow them, though at a distance, at last it was agreed to give up the prince too, upon a supposition, that this would put an end to the pursuit; taking, however, three people, who, the blacks told them, were the principal men in their country, by way of hostages, of whom two soon made their escape, and then the blacks not only pursued them, but began to fire upon them, which hitherto they had not done. The weakness of their own conduct, and the wisdom of Mr. Benbow's advice, were by this time visible to every body; and, as it now appeared clearly they had nothing for it but fighting, they began to dispose their little army in order of battle. Thirty-six armed men were divided into four bodies, commanded by the three captains and Mr. Benbow; but, after an engagement that lasted from noon till six in the evening, it was agreed to treat. The negroes demanded their arms, and then promised to let them go; and, at the persuasion of Captain Young, this wild proposition was accepted, though vigorously opposed by Mr. Benbow; but, when it came to be put in execution, the Captains Drummond and Stewart,* with four or five of their crew, refused to deliver their arms, and marched off unperceived in the night, accompanied by Mr. Benbow, and got safe to Port Dauphine, while the rest were cruelly murdered, except one Robert Drury, a boy of fifteen or sixteen years old, whom they preserved, and made a slave.

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* The reader may, perhaps, be desirous of knowing what became of this Captain Drummond, of which nothing more can be said, than what is found in the travels of Drury, who remained so many years upon the island. He informs us, that he saw Captain Drummond once, several years after they parted, and that he was then at liberty, and lived as happily as it was possible for a man of his education to do in such a country; and he farther adds, that the year he came away, which was in 1716, he was informed, that Captain Drummond had been killed by a negro; but without any particular circumstances.

As for Mr. Benbow, after remaining several years amongst the negroes, where he lived after their manner, and went naked, he escaped on board a Dutch ship, the captain of which had been well acquainted with his father, and, for his sake, treated him with great kindness and respect. I had this particular of Mr. Benbow's escape in a Dutch ship from several persons of Mr. Benbow's acquaintance, who had received it from his own mouth; for his escape was so wonderful, and attended with such surprising circumstances, that many people had the curiosity to visit Mr. Benbow, in order to hear it from himself, in which he very readily gratified them, though otherwise a man of much taciturnity.

This Mr. John Benbow lived many years after in England, and composed a work, intitled, "A complete description of the south part of the Island of Madagascar;" which was a very curious and accurate performance, and therefore, often borrowed by his acquaintance, with some of whom it still remains; nor have the family, after the strictest search, been able to retrieve it. It would be certainly a kind present to the learned world, and, at the same time, an act of great justice to the memory of Mr. Benbow, if any gentleman, in whose hands it now is, would publish it, because it contains many things of a commercial, as well as historical and philosophical nature. I do not know whether, strictly speaking, so long an account of Mr. Benbow's misfortunes be reconcileable to a work of this nature; but as the recital of them cannot but be entertaining to the reader; and as so many remarkable facts might have been buried in oblivion, if I had not taken this occasion to preserve them, I hope I shall at least stand excused, if not justified, for the liberty I have taken; and, in this hope, I return to the thread of my history, and to the memoirs which occur next in order of time.*

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* As I have made great use of "Drury's Travels," I think it necessary to insert the following certificate, by Captain William Mackett, whose reputation was so well established, both for understanding and probity, that nobody judged it possible for him to be either deceived himself in a case of this nature, or capable of entering into a design of deceiving or amusing others; and, therefore, his certificate seems sufficient to establish this author's credit. It runs thus:

"This is to certify, That Robert Drury, fifteen years a slave in Madagascar, now living in London, was redeemed from thence, and brought into England, his native country, by myself. I esteem him an honest, industrious man, of good reputation, and do firmly believe, that the account he gives of his strange and surprising adventures is genuine and authentic.

May 7, 1728. W. Mackett."

END OF VOL III.

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